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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE AZORES: A POLICY STUDY

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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Date..September 6, 1985...........

Dedicated

To my parents

Who brought me to the Azores

I love

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine, describe and analyze the process of the establishment of the University of the Azores. Antecedents and environmental factors, the demand articulators, political interests, actions taken and the resultant consequences constituted the scope of the study.

A conceptual framework was derived from political systems theory and policy science. The conceptual framework was an adaptation of the political model of Almond and Powell (1978:285), combined with the conception of general environment proposed by Hall (1977:304), and the stages of the optimal model enunciated by Dror (1983:163). An overview of political and social factors relevant to education in Portugal and the Azores provided the context for the study.

A case study approach was used. Data were collected through documentary searches and interviews with individuals who were influential in the policy development process.

The framework was used to focus on pertinent aspects of the findings. It was found that a higher education institution was an old aspiration and that the creation of the University of the Azores was a political response to social forces which climaxed with the military coup of April 1974. Ideological conflicts between Portugal and the Azores and consequent desires for Azorean self-determination were major factors in the policy to create the University. The policy was an act of political expediency in that it defused political tension without violating the central government's policy of selective decentralization.

The officials goals of the University, as expressed in law 5/76, included the provision of teaching, research, cultural extension and services to the community, in furtherance of Azorean democratization and balanced regional development both economically and socially.

Although it is difficult at this time to evaluate the impact of the University, it has made a significant contribution to research, cultural extension and services to the community, especially in the fields of education and business administration (See Appendix C).

The study concludes by noting some reflections on the analysis related to the overall process of the establishment of the University in regards to the type of decision, the time factor in the policymaking, and the fulfillment of Azorean aspirations. The value of the conceptual framework is also assessed.

Recommendations concerning some possible directions for the University of the Azores (exchange programs, policies of complementarity, post graduate programs, and polytechnical education) are made. Future research studies concerning the University and its potential contribution to policy science are proposed, including: (1) studies concerned with the

practice and improvement of policy making in Portugal to assist the government in planning and decision making, and (2) studies which integrate politics and public policy to assist in educational planning and decision making in times of political instability.

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Chapter I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

On January 9, 1976, the Sixth Provisional Government of Portugal through the law 5/76 created the Azorean University Institute (Decreto-Lei no. 5/76 de 9 de Janeiro). This law was preceded by Ministerial Directive 414/75 which installed the task force for the organization and establishment of higher education in the Azores.

Law 5/76 describes regionalization of higher education as one of the priorities of the government. The aim was to provide units of teaching, research, cultural extension and services to the community so as "to respond to the democratization needs of the nation and to balanced regional development." This philosophy recognized that "the insular characteristics of the region deserved particular solutions so as to adjust it to the geographic, economic and social realities of the archipelago" (Decreto-Lei no. 5/76 de 9 de Janeiro).

It was within these parameters that the Azorean University Institute was created, having in mind that the "character of the insularity of the region deserved particular solutions, adjusting it to the geographic, economic and social realities of the archipelago" (Decreto-Lei no. 5/76 de 9 de Janeiro).

The Azorean University Institute became a University according to law 252/80 which was passed on July 25, 1980 (Decreto-Lei no. 252/80 de 25 de Julho).

The archipelago of the Azores discovered in the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, is a part of the Portuguese territory, known as the Adjacent Islands which, two years after the military coup in 1974, became an autonomous region of Portugal. This newly granted autonomy means that the Azores has its own political and administrative statutes (Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, 1977). The autonomy originally granted in 1976 has undergone many changes since then, with education now partially controlled by the Central Government.

From the perspective of geographic or territorial division of power, Portugal is an unitary state, that is, one in which "power and authority are concentrated legally in the central institutions and specific powers and responsibilities may be delegated to local governments" (Almond and Powell, 1978:234).

The newly created University of the Azores is the only institution of higher education in the Azores. The fact that for many decades aspirations by the Azorean people for an institution of higher education were expressed to the Portuguese government, to be granted only after the military coup, led the researcher to investigate the factors which influenced the creation of the University of the Azores.

A. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify, describe, and analyse the factors associated with the creation of the University of the Azores.

This study will describe the following: (1) the attempted development in higher education prior to 1974, (2) how different individuals and interest groups articulate their demands with respect to higher education between 1974 and 1976, (3) how the new higher education policy evolved, (4) how the governments (regional and central) influenced the policy development process, and (5) the outcomes associated with the new policy.

The general area of inquiry is formulated in the following research questions:

1. What social, cultural, economic, political, legal, ecological and demographic conditions might have influenced higher education in the archipelago of the Azores prior to 1974?
2. How did different individuals and interest groups articulate their demands from 1974 to the time of the policy decision in 1976?
3. How did the regional and central governments influence the process?
4. How was the policy determined?
5. What were the policy outcomes from 1976 to the present?

B. Significance of the Study

This study will examine the policymaking process within an educational context; therefore it is expected that it will contribute to knowledge in the field of policy sciences.

Dye (1972:14) suggested that public policy studies are undertaken for three reasons: (1) scientific, (2) professional, and (3) political.

First, the "scientific" reason for studying public policy is to gain an understanding of the causes and consequences of policy decisions, improving knowledge about society and about the relationships between public policy, the environment and the political system.

Second, the "professional" reason for studying public policy is to gain an understanding of the causes and consequences of public policy which would permit an application of social science knowledge to the solution of practical problems.

Finally the "political" reason for studying public policy is to inform political discussion, to advance the level of political awareness, and to improve the quality of public policy.

In satisfying the scientific reasons for studying public policy, it is hoped that this study will make a contribution to knowledge about policy making. As such it should contribute to research on the factors affecting policymaking in higher education. It could also generate further research in educational planning and policymaking.

Planning is beginning in the Azores for a polytechnical institution. This study, dealing with the creation of the University of the Azores, could assist in solving some of the practical problems associated with any future expansion of post-secondary education in the Azores. In so doing, the study should fulfill the professional reasons for studying public policy.

By contributing to an understanding of political development and influences in the policy process, the study should provide political justifications for examining the creation of the University of the Azores. In many ways the establishment of the University was unique, rising in the wake of a military coup and for political expediency. Such knowledge should improve the level of political awareness and the quality of public policy.

It is hoped then that this study, by providing an understanding of the possible causes and consequences of the policy decisions taken in the University of the Azores, will contribute to the development of policy sciences.

C. Delimitations

The study was delimited along three dimensions: the period of the study, the specific focus, and the number of participants interviewed.

1. The study was confined to three time periods: the decades beginning in the 1930s up to the coup (1974);

the time between 1974 and 1976, the year in which the official announcement of the creation of the University was made; and, the first few years after establishment of the University to 1985. Of particular interest was the impact of the first years following the University's establishment. The study is not intended to be an evaluation, but considers outcomes and their effect. Also, for the purposes of clarity and continuity it was necessary to refer to historical events up to the 1930's.

2. The study was delimited to a single case study pertaining to the creation of the University of the Azores.
3. Only major participants were identified and interviewed.

D. Limitations

The study was limited by the following factors:

1. The ability of interviewees to recall events within the time delimited. It was also limited by the sensitive nature of information which might not be volunteered.
2. The models used to gather and analyze data.
3. The amount of information available from cabinet discussions.
4. The availability of official and non-official information in various documents and newspapers.
5. The researcher's and/or relevant actors' limitations of time, geography and economics.

6. The degree to which objectivity could be attained by the researcher because of his position as a faculty member.

E. Definitions of Terms

The following definitions are included to provide a basis for clarity and understanding of terms used throughout the study.

Azoreans. Portuguese born in the archipelago of the Azores.

Azorean people. Azoreans living in the Azores and elsewhere.

Central Government. Portuguese government.

Insularity. A psychological condition resulting from the distance of the locus of activities.

> "The notion of insularity embodies characteristics of isolation, distance, limited dimension, and also separation, in the case of archipelagos. These characteristics are the source of the extreme fragility of the socio-economic equilibrium of the islands and merit particular concern on behalf of both national institutions and institutions of United Europe." (Tenerife Declaration, in 2èmes Journées D'étude sur "Développment local et insularité", Université de Corse, 1984).

Lisbon. When not referred to as a city, it means the central power.

Regional Government. Azorean government.

Separatism. A liberation movement against the Central Government which in its most radical expression demanded independence and in its more moderate form aspired to administrative and some political autonomy.

University. Though the University of the Azores was legally created in 1980, the term University is used throughout the study to refer to the University of the Azores and its predecessor, the Azorean University Institute.

F. Organization of the Study

This dissertation is organized into nine chapters. Chapter I presents the purpose and significance of the study. In addition, delimitations, limitations and definitions of terms are provided.

Chapter II reviews the literature which provides a background to the study. The policy sciences, including policy analysis, and systems theory, particularly related to the performance of the political systems, are described. These are combined to form a conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter III discusses the methodology used to consider the major questions of the study. The orientation underlying the methodology and the rationale for the case study approach are explored. The research design which guided the collection of data is examined, and some issues of methodological rigor are discussed.

In Chapter IV, a social and political overview of Portugal is provided from the Middle Ages up until the end of the "Social State" in 1974.

Chapter V gives an Azorean context to this overview of Portugal's history, particularly as it relates to education.

Chapter VI considers the antecedents leading to the creation of the University of the Azores.

Chapter VII provides the background of the emergence of the University of the Azores. It describes the ministerial directive and the law which sets up the University.

Chapter VIII is a discussion of findings provided from the policy analysis perspective. It details the interplay of forces and the policy outcomes.

Chapter IX provides a summary of the study and the conclusions, recommendations and implications arising from it.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter a review of some of the relevant literature is provided. Literature on the policy sciences and policy analysis, systems theory, and the polical process is reviewed. Theoretical models developed in these fields are examined and relevent ideas for incorporation into the conceptual framework of this study are identified. The main conceptual framework for the study is based on the political system model of Almond and Powell, Hall's environment conditions and Dror's optimal model.

A. The Policy Sciences

Though Lasswell (Learner and Lasswell, 1951) coined the term "policy sciences" over three decades ago, it was not until the early 1970s that the policy sciences field became a discipline of its own (Lasswell, 1971; Dror, 1983, 1971). This was brought about by more progress in the various related sciences disciplines (decision sciences, applied behavioral sciences, systems analysis), more experience with policy research organizations (the RAND corporation and the Hudson institute) and with disenchantment with the "normal sciences" (Dror in Lasswell, 1971:XI) .

The policy sciences field was developed by joining the management sciences with the behavioral sciences in order to fulfill the needs of the policy analysts. Lasswell (Learner and Lasswell, 1951) argued for an integration of the various distinct disciplines into a more unified approach for solving the practical policy problems of government. He suggested that the policy sciences include (1) the methods by which the policy process is investigated, (2) the results of the study of policy, and (3) the findings of the disciplines making the most important contributions to policymaking.

Definitions of Policy

In this section a number of different definitions of policy are considered, on the basis of which a summary statement is formulated. Next a number of dimensions of policy are detailed.

Bauer (1968:21) stated that policy is a decision involving some impending or intended action, as distinct from a decision regarding some cognitive or evaluative state. He distinguished three levels of decisions based on the scope of their implications: (1) routine decisions that are made almost daily, (2) more complex decisions with wider ramifications, requiring some degree of thought and analysis, and (3) policy decisions with the widest ramifications and the longest time perspective, requiring the most information and contemplation.

Easton (1965) has argued that policymaking is whatever governments choose to do or not to do. Stringham (1974) viewed policymaking as a major guideline for future discretionary action. Mayer and Greenwood (1980:15) also included the "decision to act" in their definition of policy.

According to Robinson (1962) policy refers to the goals (objectives, ends) of any social system, the means chosen to implement these goals, and the consequences of the means, i.e. the actual distribution of values. Earlier, Lasswell and Kaplan (1950:71) defined policy as "a projected program of goals, values and practices." Van Dyke (1968) stated that policy is an output of a system or subsystem, reflecting goals, but also implying a choice of plans or strategies for achievement.

From these definitions three basic elements of the term policy are suggested: (1) it is a plan for action, (2) it has a goal or goals, and (3) it specifies the strategy to execute the plan of action and achieve the projected goals.

In policies two aspects are generally considered the most significant: the policy process (policymaking) and the policy content. The policy process refers to the way in which policies are formulated. It is mainly concerned with the structure of the decision-making organization, the individuals involved in the making of the policy, external groups which influence the policymaking, the communication patterns, etc. Policy content is largely determined by the policy process.

Dror (1983:12) described the policymaking process as complex and dynamic. There are different components to the process and each makes a different contribution to it. Dror outlined twelve characteristics of policymaking. He claims policymaking is: (1) a very complex process with a great deal of interaction and many feedback loops occurring at all levels, (2) a dynamic process with continuous activity taking place within the stuctures, (3) a process with many components, (4) a process with different contributions, (5) a type of decision making, (6) a process in which major guidelines were laid down, (7) a process designed for action, (8) a process directed to the future, (9) a process carried out mainly by government organs, (10) a process which was formally aimed at achieving, (11) a process which was undertaken in the public interest, and (12) a process which should be carried out by the best possible means.

Dror (1971) described four dimensions of the policy sciences, (1) policy analysis, (2) megapolicy, (3) metapolicy, and (4) realization strategy.

1. Policy analysis is an approach and methodology for the design and identification of preferable alternatives in respect to complex policy issues.
2. Megapolicy is master policy, a policy providing guides for a set of discrete policies.
3. Metapolicy is a policy on policymaking, for example, policy dealing with the characteristics of the

policymaking system.

4. Realization strategy is the means of improving policymaking through the application of the policy sciences and through the realization of policy science recommendations.

This next section describes policy analysis, megapolicy, and metapolicy. Since the development of realization strategy is not a major purpose of this study, it is not defined in detail.

Policy Analysis

According to Nagel and Neef (1980:15), "policy analysis or policy studies can be broadly defined as the study of the nature, causes, and effects of alternative public policies." Sometimes, these writers indicate, policy analysis is more specifically defined to refer to the methods used in analyzing public policies.

The emergence of policy analysis reflects significantly the growing demands placed on public officials by the complexity of the issues they face. According to Lynn (1980:4), policy analysis refers to the analysis of public policy problems with the aim of clarifying issues, consequences and alternatives towards the improvement of the basis for policy decisions. Dunn (1981:35) provides a more specific definition by describing policy analysis as "an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve policy problems."

Dunn (1981:53) offered the view that the relationship between policy informational components and policy analytic methods provides the foundation for three major forms of policy analysis. These forms are: prospective, retrospective and integrated policy analysis. When the analyst produces and transforms information to be used before policy actions are adopted, he is involved in prospective analysis. When he produces and transforms information after policy actions have been adopted, he is involved in retrospective policy analysis. Integrated policy analysis combines the two in analyzing policy before and after policy actions. Retrospective analysis "has been most important in its impact on intellectual priorities and understanding, and not nearly so effective in offering solutions for specific political problems." This study uses retrospective policy analysis.

Policy analysis is the "main prescriptive method" of policy sciences for improving complex decisions. According to Dror (1971:55-62), in order to achieve its aims, policy analysis includes an exploration of values, an analysis of political feasibility, a consideration of goals, an examination of social behaviour, and institutional self-awareness. Because value exploration and political feasibility play a major part in the analysis of the policymaking associated with the creation of the University of the Azores, the next two sections describe the salient characteristics of each.

Megapolicy

Megapolicy involves a "determination of the postures, assumptions, and main guidelines to be followed by specific policies." It contains a number of facets, which in various combinations form the basis of policies. In policy science, the aim is to identify the essential facets of each megapolicy and to determine the criteria for preferring different megapolicy combinations. In this way policymaking is enhanced.

The main facets of megapolicies includes: (1) overall goals, (2) boundaries between specific policies, (3) a concern with the time over which a policy operates, (4) the degree that will be acceptable relative to a policy issue, (5) the choice between incremental and innovative policy change, (6) the degree of comprehensiveness or narrowness of a policy, (7) the extent to which a policy should achieve given goals through a shock effect or in a mutually coordinated way, (8) recognition of assumptions being made about the future, (9) the theoretical basis upon which policymaking is proceeding, (10) the availability of resources, (11) the range of available policy instruments, and (12) the extent to which discrete policies should be identical with their megapolicies or should reflect a mix of different megapolicies (Dror, 1971:63-73).

Metapolicy

Metapolicy is "policy on how to make policy." It contributes to better policymaking as well as to the study of policymaking as a behavioral phenomenon. The improvement of policy analysis is best accomplished through the development of metapolicy rather than looking specifically at each policy. Metapolicy leads to the development of new capacities for innovation, selection, implementation, and evaluation. The interrelationships of individual policies relies on the performance of the policymaking system as a whole which metapolicy assures. Policymaking is an ongoing process where a single policy decision is only a minor event. Metapolicy plays a key role in this ongoing process.

B. Models in Policy Analysis

Models function as heuristic devices, permitting learning from the analogies which are presented. They provide a concrete mechanism which makes theory understandable. They also assist in the organization of data. Though there are numerous models of policy analysis, outlined in the literature, in this study, Dror's (1983) optimal model will be used.

Optimal Model

One of the most accepted models of policy making developed by Dror (1983), is referred to as the optimal model because it does not rely entirely on rationality, but allows for an element of creativity. The rational elements of the model are supported by extrarational processes such as "creativity", "intuition" and judgement in the innovative phases of policy development.

Dror (1983:130) indicates that the optimal model satisfies three main conditions: to match reality in order to enable action-oriented analysis and evaluation of policymaking; to be systematic and comprehensive in order to be used for significant and penetrating analysis; and to be normative in order to accommodate the emphasis he has put on values and goals.

Dror (1968) characterizes the optimal model as follows: (1) the model is qualitative, not quantitative, (2) the model has both rational and extrarational components, (3) the basic rationale of the model is economic, (4) the model is concerned with metapolicymaking and includes a built-in feedback system. The optimal model can be applied to all five stages of the policymaking process: identification of needs, policy development, policy choice, policy implementation and policy review. In addition, according to Dror (1983:160), the model could be used in the analysis, evaluation and improvement of the policymaking system when it is viewed as a dynamic system rather than as a collection of separate policymaking units.

Dror (1983) developed three major stages of policymaking which he identifies as metapolicymaking, policymaking and postpolicymaking. These three stages in the model are divided into eighteen phases. More detail about these phases is included in the conceptual framework section of this chapter.

Metapolicymaking Stage

In this stage values and problems are processed, resources are developed, a policymaking system can be designed or redesigned, and a policymaking strategy can be developed. Essentially, metapolicymaking is a needs and resources assessement survey.

Dror (1983:164) indicated that metapolicymaking deals with the "major operations needed to design and manage the policymaking system as a whole and to establish the overall principles and rules for policymaking." In interpreting Dror, Sringham (1974:40) suggested that metapolicymaking deals "not with distinct policies but overarching policy on policymaking." Thus, policymaking activity is not required with every policy review that is undertaken. Once it is complete, it can stand, subject to periodic review and incremental change over time, so long as the mission of the organization stays the same. Though much of metapolicymaking is nonrepetitive, continual needs assessement-evaluative activities are required if the organization is to remain dynamic.

Policymaking Stage

Though the phases of the policymaking stage are parallel in many ways to the metapolicymaking phases, the aim of this stage is different. It is here that the actual policies are made. In this stage resources are suballocated, operational goals are established with some order of priority, alternative policies and reliable predictions are proposed, and the benefits and costs of the best alternative are evaluated.

The ultimate aim is to arrive at the best policy. This is determined by comparing the "best" alternative with a "goodness standard." Establishing a goodness standard is one of the most crucial components in this model of policymaking. It determines whether an alternative is acepted or rejected. If the standard is too low, public policymaking will not be as good as it could be. If it is set too high, waste will result in uneconomical searches for other, perhaps nonexistent, alternatives.

In arriving at the optimal policy, Dror suggested a balance between rational and extratational methods used in considering alternatives. Hunches and intuitive judgments must be made at each phase. In addition, "all available rational techniques and knowledge should be used to help reduce uncertainty."

Postpolicymaking Stage

In this stage the executing of the policy is motivated, the policy is executed and the policymaking is then evaluated. Policy makers should be aware of the tendency to readjust policy expectations to fit the actual results. The pressure to reduce "post-decision dissonance" may distort evaluation and negate useful feedback. On the other hand, policy makers should accept that some unexpected results will occur and they should adjust for them (Dror, 1983:193).

In this stage, as well as in the others suboptimization will occur. This is the subdividing of policymaking into convenient parts, using the benefits of specialization in organizational subunits. The disadvantage is that the policy may not be "properly integrated or synchronized" (Dror, 1983:172).

The final phase in the optimal model is to provide communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases. In the postpolicymaking stage, learning feedback aimed at all the phases of metapolicymaking, policymaking and postpolicymaking will improve future policymaking and implementation (Dror, 1983:193).

Dror emphasized value exploration and political feasibility in policy analysis. Because these two concepts played a major part in the analysis of policymaking associated with the creation of the University of the Azores, the next two sections describe the salient characteristics of each.

Value Exploration

Dror (1971:57) considered value questions as a main portion of policy analysis. The first phase in the metapolicymaking stage of Dror's optimal model is "processing values" while later phases also consider values (Dror, 1983:164:166).

Lasswell (1971:18:22) listed eight base values under which nearly an infinite number of preferred values outcomes can be classified. The eight values are: power, enlightenment, wealth, well being, skill, affection, respect and rectitude.

Dror (1971:58) listed a number of basic social values: freedom, democracy, equality, participation and human rights, indicating that "it is impossible to take up any complex policy issue without handling these values."

Dunn (1981:89) described policy making as "value dependent." Policy problems typically arise from competing values held by policy stakeholders. The same information may be used to support completely opposite claims, because of different values. Also, claims may be argued through policy to provide reasons for having one value or another.

Dror (1971:58) suggested that in order to handle values policy analysis must consider applied ethics and political philosophy. Policy claims, according to Dunn (1982:86) are based on ethics and assumptions about "the rightness or wrongness, goodness or badness" of policies and their results.

Both Dror (1983:165) and Dunn (1981:91) agreed that values should be specifically stated as a part of policy analysis. By specifying values, Dror indicated policy makers can lay out the "the main avenues of action and some rough priorities for them, including the basic values that must not be impaired."

Values are determined by value judgements. In optimal metapolicymaking Dror (1983:165-186) indicated that value judgements should be specifically stated, after gathering the relevant data, considering the social consequences, and the feasiblity of achieving the policy. "Values are processed mainly by means of interactions and collisions between political bodies, public organizations, and interest groups." The exploration of values in policy analysis is greatly affected by the political process.

Political Feasibility

Closely related to value exploration in policy analysis is political feasibility. In tying political feasibility to political analysis, Dror (1971:59) considers the actor, the policy altenatives, and the policy area.

From the viewpoint of an actor whether the actor be an individual, a group, an organization, or a nation, political feasibility refers to the ability of the actor to influence policies and their implementation. Political feasibility then is closely affiliated with influence and power. Political leverage is the term which refers to the ability of the actor to influence policymaking and implementation.

Gergen (1968:203) developed a model which exemplifies the actor-oriented approach to the analysis of public policy. In Gergen's work, the policymaking process is formed by stages (subphases) where participants attempt to exert leverage (power or influence) in order to affect outcomes of governmental actions or alternative policy choices.

Further, the willingness or ability of a participant to exert leverage is displayed along three dimensions: (1) issue relevance, (2) sub-phase resources, and (3) personal efficacy. Issue relevance is the degree of importance an individual attaches to a political issue. The subphase resources include assets such as skills, money and authority, which the actor can bring to bear at a particular stage in the policymaking process. The last dimension, personal efficacy, is the actor's ability to achieve his ends through the application of leverage.

Political feasibility related to a policy alternative considers the probability that within a period of time the policy alternative will be approved and implemented. This is because there is enough political support for the policy alternative. In regards to a policy issue or policy area, political feasibility is the range wherein policy choices are politically feasible (Dror, 1971:60).

C. Systems Theory

This section introduces the open systems theory of Katz and Kahn (1978). Next, the conception of the environment proposed by Hall (1977) is outlined. Finally, the views of a number of writers on the utility of systems theory in policy studies are reported.

The Open Systems Model of Katz and Khan

The open systems model has been used in many fields of study since von Bertalanffy's promulgation (1956). Katz and Khan's (1978) notion of the open system relates von Bertalanffy's biological conception to the social sciences. Katz and Khan postulated that the open systems theory emphasizes the close relationship between a structure and its supporting environment.

Katz and Khan (1978:3) added that "... the major emphasis in open systems theory is on throughput: the processing of inputs to yield some outcome that is then used by an outside group or system...." The final stage in the open systems model is the output component which is referred to by Katz and Kahn as the product. A feedback loop running from the output back to throughput and input acts as a controlling mechanism.

Influence of Environment

Hall (1977:303) described two major types of environments from which the organization gets input and to which it supplies output. These are the general and the specific environments.

Hall's overview of the general environment includes the following conditions: (1) technological - the type of manpower and equipment used, (2) legal - laws and regulations, (3) political - laws which affect the organization, (4) economic - the state of the economy in which the organization is operating, (5) demographic - the number of people served and their age and sex distribution, (6) ecological - contacts with other organizations and the environment in which it is located, and (7) cultural - values and behaviors of the indigenous population. Although all conditions described are important, some are more so than others. In this study cultural and political conditions, for example, play an important role. According to Hall (1977:310), unless the values and behaviors of the indigenous population are understood and appreciated, such projects are likely to fail. In his words, "revolution cannot accomplish change without the presence of conditions appropriate for organizational development" (Hall, 1977:321).

The specific environment includes influences on the organization by other organizations or by particular individuals. Interaction with the specific environment is direct whereas the general environment's influence is less concrete.

The Utility of Systems Theory in Policy Analysis

Writers in the area of administrative theory (Guba, 1957; and Parsons, 1956); organizational effectiveness (Mott, 1972; and Steers, 1977); policymaking (Dye, 1978; Dror, 1983; Anderson, 1975; Jennings, 1977; and Baldrige et al. 1978); planning (Jantsch, 1975); evaluation (Stake, 1975; and Provus, 1973); politics (Almond and Powell, 1978);

and decision-making (Lasswell, 1971) have applied ideas taken from the systems model in their works. These and other writers on open systems do not prescribe a rigid framework within which to observe and analyze organizational phenomena. Rather, they suggest a number of general characteristics which determine or explain the operation of systems in the natural social context.

Nussbaumer (1977) used the systems approach as the conceptual framework which guided the data collection and analysis in her policy study. She indicated that the systems approach had great potential in the study of policy and structure in education. Nussbaumer (1977:206) tended that the systems approach provided, in her own words, "not only a framework for analysis of process but also a view of the context of such a process."

Dye (1978:37) proposed systems theory as one of the models for the analysis of public policy because such policy may be conceived as "a response of a political system to forces brought to bear upon it from the environment."

Although the policy process, according to Lazarsfeld (1975) and Anderson (1979) cannot be viewed in any great detail by the linear feedback model that political systems theory offers, Yeakey (1983:267) proposed that

> ... systems theory is deemed useful in organizing one's inquiry into such significant aspects of the political process as environmental inputs, the nature of the political system, and attention to those forces or factors in the environemnt serving to generate demands on the political system.

To summarize, it seems there is considerable suport in the literature for a systems approach to be used in policy studies.

D. Performance of the Political System

Almond and Powell (1978) consider political performance in policymaking from a systems viewpoint. To examine the performance of the policy process they identify major contributing factors which include inputs, the conversion or policymaking process and outputs. Figure 1 is an adaptation of Almond and Powell's political system model. An explanation of the major components of the model follows.

Inputs

Inputs are forces generated in the environment which affect the political system (Dye, 1978). Easton (1965), the first political scientist to analyze politics in explicit system terms, described two types of inputs into the political system: demands and supports. Demands are the claims made by individuals and groups on the political system for action to satisfy their interests. Almond and Powell (1978) described two major classes of supports. Firstly, there are political resource supports. These are inputs of individuals or groups to support leaders and groups who are engaged in making policies. Secondly, there is another category of supports which Almond and Powell (1978:11) call "subject support compliance." Such support occurs when groups and individuals abide by authoritative decisions.

The process of demand making in the political process is called interest articulation. This process may be set in motion by individuals or groups. Almond and Powell (1978) distinguish four types of interest groups: (1) anomic, (2) nonassociational, (3) institutional, and (4) associational. An interst group is a set of individuals who are linked by bonds of concern or advantage and who are aware of these shared interests" (Almond and Powell, 1978:170).

Another area which is of interest in this study is the "channels of access and tactics of influence." Almond and Powell distinguished two types of access channels: constitutional and coercive. The constitutional channels include: (1) personal connection, (2) elite representation, (3) mass media, (4) political parties, (5) legislatures, cabinets and bureaucratic agencies, and (6) protest demonstrations and strikes. Protest demonstration and strikes may cross the border between constitutional and coercive channels. Other coercive channels are riots and terrorist tactics.

Demands may become major policy alternatives, and the function of converting demands into these alternatives is called interest aggregation. Interest aggregation is an important function which has implications at the system process and policy levels. At the level of the political system, the kinds of political resources being used are considered. For the policymaking process, it serves as a bridge between interests and resources of groups and individuals. At the policy level the content of policy is affected by the pattern of interest aggregation (Almond and Powell, 1978). Interest aggregation may be viewed then as molding the policymaking and policy outputs.

Almond and Powell (1978), suggested that all groups performing interest articulation may also perform interest aggregation. The following entities are described as structures performing interest aggregation: (1) individual elites, (2) interest groups (associational, nonassociational, and institutional), (3) competitive party systems, (4) noncompetitive political parties, and (5) military governments.

Policymaking

Almond and Powell (1978) argued that policymaking was the pivotal stage of the political process, and that it is in the policymaking phase where effective political demands are converted into authoritative decisions. They indicated that policymaking and policy implementation are continuous processes. Both processes are not mutually exclusive since it is difficult to delineate a boundary where one ends and the other begins.

Smith (1973) identified the following four components in the policy implementation process: (1) the idealized policy, (2) the implementation organization, (3) the target group, and (4) the environmental forces. The idealized policy is the formal decision statement, law or program which the government is attempting to implement. The implementing organization is the body responsible for the implementation of the policy. The target group consists of the people most affected by the policy. Environmental factors are those factors which can influence or be influenced by the policy.

The implementation of the public policy, according to Edwards and Sharkansky (1978), requires a wide variety of actions which includes issuing directives, enforcing directives, providing financial means, making contracts, assigning personnel and creating organizational units. They indicated that the many constraints and problems related to policymaking apply to policy implementation.

Mansbridge (1978) reviewed the policymaking process in Alberta and described how social policy is developed, managed, and modified. He described how a proposed policy was taken through various committees at cabinet level and showed the mechanics of the policymaking process. Mansbridge (1978) stated that the origins of new policies are conceptualized as the result of a combination of the followinf events: (1) recognition of a basic need, (2) research by the appropriate agency, (3) a position paper containing recommendations, (4) public debate of the conclusions, (5) a set of proposals for study by the appropriate cabinet committee, (6) a directive setting out the goals of government, and (7) a resultant implementation plan with assigned resources to achieve the policy objectives.

Bauer and Gergen (1968) stated that tracing the policy process of public policy formation in a social system was a difficult task. The complexities of this task hindered an analysis in depth of a particular policy. According to Gergen (1968:186), the exact source of an idea that became public policy, was sometimes difficult to determine. It is "safe to say", he added, "that some persons occupied more optimal positions than others, for policy initiation."

Taylor (1980) investigated the evolution of a policymaking system. He concluded that in relationship to the environment, "...actors expressed differing interpretations of the environment, which undoubtedly affected the perceptions of the issues and their behavior in the policymaking process. In relationship to the process, Taylor (1980:220) suggested that political activities, using the legitimate structure and process of the organization can significantly alter the process and outcomes of the policymaking system." He indicated that in respect to actors the initiation process and outcomes of a policymaking system can be largely dependent upon the activities of a single actor. He concluded that "as the number of actors in a policymaking system increases, the complexity and variety in the actor's perceptions and interpretations of the issues also increases" (Taylor, 1980:220-221). Finally it is suggested by Taylor (1980:223) that policies often originated from persons in the formal administrative structure, rather than from interest groups in the constituencies.

Outputs and Outcomes

Political scientists and policy researchers are almost consistent in their view of functions of governments. Outputs of the political system are, according to Dye (1978), authoritative value allocations of the system. Dunn (1981:280) stated that policy outputs are the "goods, services, or resources received by targets groups and beneficiaries" from government. On the other hand, he described changes in behavioral and attitudes resulting from policy outputs as policy impacts.

A fairly consistent view exists of the kinds of policy outputs (Lowi, 1966; Smith,1973; Dye, 1978). Almond and Powell (1978) classified four categories of outputs: extractive, distributive, regulatory and symbolic. The extractive category can be measured by the kinds of objects or amounts extracted. In the distributive category are the economic goods distributed such as education, and values such as status and prestige. In the regulatory category are included the legislative aspects concerning the regulation of human behaviour. Symbolic outputs are those aspects of the political system which call for nation unity, and ideological values such as equality, liberty and community.

The symbolic outputs are intended to enhance the other outputs. Almond and Powell (1978:287) proposed that in considering the four categories of outputs "one must recognize the complexity of their interrelations and distinguish clearly between the concepts of policy and output." Policy implies a set of ends and means and rarely relies on a single means or category of outputs.

Policy outcomes are the consequences of a policy as well as prior and consequent actions, and represent the impact on the environment. Dror(1968:36) sees outcomes as "the substantive effects of policymaking on real situations."

E. Conceptual Framework

In this study a conceptual framework utilizing the systems approach through the adaptation of existing concepts is presented. Specifically, an attempt is made to integrate elements of the systems approach to political behavior at the societal level by combining the political system model of Almond and Powell and Dror's optimal model, with Hall's environmental conditions. This conceptual framework becomes the model which will be used to identify, describe and analyze policymaking in the creation of the University of the Azores (Fig.1).

The analytical framework is an open system model adapted from a political system theory (Almond and Powell, 1978:285). Systems theory is believed to be helpful in

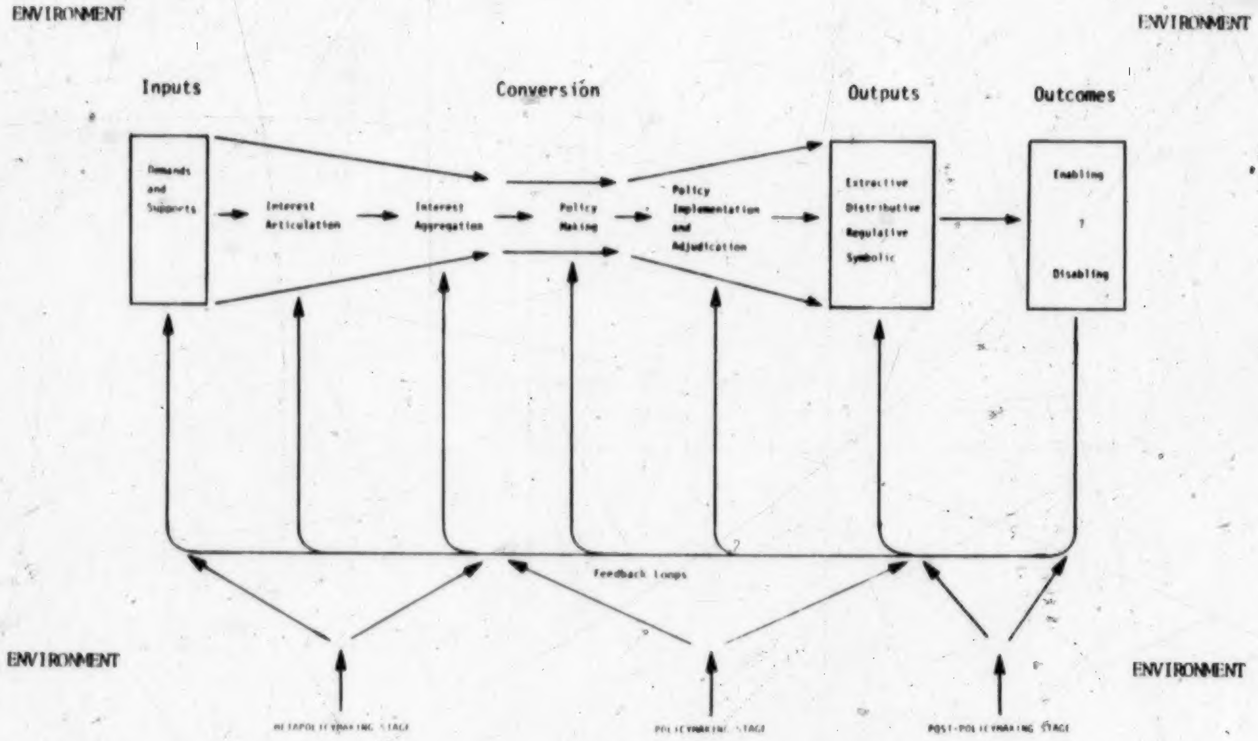
ENVIRONMENT
ENVIRONMENT
Inputs
Conversion
Outputs
Outcomes
Demands and Supports
Interest Articulation
Interest Aggregation
Policy Making
Policy Implementation and Adjudication
Extractive
Distributive
Regulative
Symbolic
Enabling
?
Disabling
Feedback Loops
ENVIRONMENT
ENVIRONMENT
METAPOLICYMAKING STAGE
POLICYMAKING STAGE
POST-POLICYMAKING STAGE

Fig. 1 Conceptual Framework

Adaptation of the Political Model of Almond and Powell (1978:285),
Combined with the Conception of General Environment Proposed by Hall (1977:304),
and the Stages of the Optimal Model Enunciated by Dror (1983:163).

organizing the investigator's inquiry into such significant aspects of the political process as environmental inputs, the nature of the political system, and consideration of the factors in the environment generating demands on the political system. The open system model consists of inputs, conversion, outputs and outcomes all of which interact with the environment. The inputs and outputs are transactions between the system and its environment. A system implies some interdependence of parts and some kinds of boundary between it and its environment. The political system, although distinguishable from the environment in which it exists, is an open system; that is, it is open to influences from other sub-systems within society. In modes which vary according to particular circumstances, environmental events are transmitted to a political system as inputs. Easton (1965:112-114) in his analysis of politics in explicit system terms, indicated two types of inputs into the political system: demands and supports.

The conversion processes are internal to the system. Authoritative decisions made at the conversion level of the system, as well as interest aggregation, policymaking, policy implementation and evaluation are analyzed distinctly. The decisions are called outputs. Outputs as a result of the implemented policies are characterized by involving distribution of goods and services (Almond and Powell, 1978:15). The distributive output into the environment analyzed in this study is an "education good and service" -- the decision to create the University of the Azores.

The outputs may produce changes in the environment, called outcomes. Changes in behavior and attitudes as a result of outputs are called impacts. Outputs and outcomes are not terminal. They have a feedback effect on the environment. Thus, a feedback loop, running from the outcomes, back to output, conversion and inputs acts as a controlling mechanism.

Hall's (1977:303) general type of environment which includes several conditions will be used in this study. Any political system interacts with its environment. Cultural, political and economic conditions are expected to interact with the political system. Although the general environment is not a concrete entity in the interaction, it supplies conditions that must be contended with. When individuals form interest groups to influence decisions, they enter the system. This perspective introduces the notion of boundary and environment. The political system is shaped by the conditions of the environment in which it operates.

Dror's (1983:163-196) optimal model includes three major stages, metapolicymaking, policymaking, postpolicymaking, which are closely interconnected by communication and feedback channels. He breaks these stages down into 18 phases. The metapolicymaking stage includes seven phases:

1. Processing values.

2. Processing reality.
3. Processing problems.
4. Surveying, processing, and developing resources.
5. Designing, evaluating, and redesigning the policymaking system.
6. Allocating problems, values, and resources.
7. Determining policymaking strategy.

The policymaking stage also happens to include seven phases:

8. Suballocating resources.
9. Establishing operational goals, with some order of priority for them.
10. Establishing a set of other significant values, with some order of priority for them.
11. Preparing a set of major alternative policies, including some "good" ones.
12. Preparing reliable predictions of the significant benefits and costs of the various alternatives.
13. Comparing the predicted benefits and costs of the various alternatives and identifying the "best" alternatives.
14. Evaluating the benefits and costs of the "best" deciding whether they are "good" or not.

The postpolicymaking stage includes three phases:

15. Motivating the execution of the policy.
16. Executing the policy.
17. Evaluating policymaking after executing the policy.

All of these 17 phases are interconnected by a complex communication and feedback network, which can be considered a separate phase:

18. Communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases.

The model is instrumental and will help to examine, identify and analyze the factors associated with the creation of the University of the Azores.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the background literature used for the identification, description and analysis of policymaking in the creation of the University of the Azores. The review noted the emergence of the policy sciences, considered the role of policy analysis within it, and described several models which in combination will be used for policy analysis.

Dror's optimal model, which applies to all steps in the policymaking process, examines three major stages which he calls metapolicymaking, policymaking, and postpolicymaking.

The optimal model is qualitative and includes both rational and extrarational components. Dror also regards value exploration and political feasibility as major considerations in policy analysis.

Hall's environmental influences as well as Almond and Powell's political systems theory are examined in view of their effect on the policymaking process. Hall described two types of organizational environment, the general and specific. Interaction with the specific environment is direct. Interaction with the general environment is less tangible and more difficult to identify.

Almond and Powell, in examining the performance of the political system in policymaking, consider inputs, the conversion process and outputs.

The literature review culminates in a conceptual framework, which will be used to examine policymaking in the creation of the University of the Azores. It highlights the major concepts for use in the study. Material from other authors mentioned in the literature review will be considered as the need arises.

Chapter III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This was a retrospective study of policy making using the qualitative inquiry method. A case study approach was used to examine the circumstances and processes that resulted in the creation of the University of the Azores. In this chapter, a background to the case study approach is presented along with the methodology of data collection and data analysis.

A. The Case Study Method

The case study is often the preferred method in social inquiry studies. According to Fairchild (1962) the case study method is:

> The method used in social research whereby data are collected and studied which depict any phase of a, or an entire, life process of a unit in its various relationships, and in its cultural setting. The unit studied may be a person, a family, a social group, a social institution, a community, or a nation. In contrast to the statistical method, the case study method gives a more or less continuous picture through time of the experiences , social forces and influences to which the unit has been subjected.

Shaw (1978:2) expressed the view that case studies were useful in research because attention could be focused on how particular groups of people deal with specific problems. Blau (1955:302) also mentions an advantage of the case study approach, namely, that social processes could be examined more directly. According to Blau the case study approach is: (1) more likely to yield reliable and systematic data than other methods, and (2) it was possible, when utilizing a case study, for the researcher to shuttle back and forth between analysis and data gathering stages. Bogdan and Biklen (1982:58) defined a case study as a "detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event."

Hofferbert (1974:89) pointed out the strengths of the case study method in terms of richness of detail and lucidity with which it could illuminate the dynamics of the policymaking process. He endorsed the "detailed rendition" offered by a case study as an appropriate methodology for the study of policymaking:

> Most of the books and articles about the policy process are case studies. A case study is an in-depth examination of understanding an instance of something....A case study tells a story. In social science, it enriches our understanding by putting flesh on the skeletal generalizations about society.

Thus, the case study has been the dominant formal techique in policy studies. There have also been growing signs of an enormous improvement in the techniques and theoretical sophistications of policy case studies (Heclo,1972,83-108).

Heclo (1972) listed a number of advantages of case studies. Case studies may have unique advantages for theory construction. Also, the greatest area of promise in case studies concerns their "ability to move" with the reality of dynamic factors. By relating events to antecedents and contexts, the case study technique can identify new relationships rather than simply provide descriptions of policymaking. Another potential positive feature is the richness and flexibility of analysis which is available in case studies. In terms of technical tools, the approach can integrate existing historical studies, secondary sources, aggregative quantitative data, and interviews (Heclo,1972:83-108).

Some of Guba and Lincoln's (1981:371-373) characteristics of historical case studies apply in this study:

1. A case study provides "thick description."
2. A case study is holistic, presenting a picture.
3. A case study is focused.
4. A case study illuminates meanings, focusing the reader's attention.
5. A case study builds on the "tacit knowledge" of its readers. This gives a sense of the actual substance of the case.

Salisbury (1968) argued with critics of the case study concerning its use as a research strategy, by stating that there appears to be nothing about the case study study technique which is inherently nontheorethical or unscientific.

Campbell (1974:24-25) has renounced his earlier harsh judgement about the "single occasion" single setting (one shot case study) by observing how

> acquaintance with events and persons, extended across time and settings, provides even the quantitative scientist with qualitative knowledge that enables him to catch misunderstandings, error, and fraud in his data.

In summary, the case study approach is particularly suited to the description and analysis of the policy making associated with the creation of the University of the Azores. It is the preferred method in social inquiry studies. Fairchild (1962) indicated it provides a "continuous picture through time of the experiences, social forces and influences" surrounding an organization. As Hofferbert (1974) reported, most policy studies provide the mechanism for examining policymaking in depth.

B. Qualitative Research

Many researchers (Guba, 1979; Nagel, 1977; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973; Scribner, 1977) are convinced that there is some need for a different type of research strategy other than quantitative research. These authors have all indicated the usefulness of the qualitative field-oriented approach in educational and other studies.

Van Maanen (1979:520) indicated that "qualitative" has no precise meaning in the social sciences, but rather it is an umbrella term, including numerous interpretive techniques. The case study is such a techique because it attempts to describe the meaning of naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) cited the following characteristics of qualitative research methods:

1. Though there are various approaches of qualitative research, all share a common aim to understand "meaning" from the participant's viewpoint.
2. Qualitative data are descriptive, reported usually in anecdotal or narrative form.
3. The researcher becomes an "instrument" when interviewing. Open-ended interviews are typically used in gathering data.
4. Because the natural setting is the source of data, emphasis is placed on the context and the history of the institutions.
5. The tendency is to analyse data inductively, from specific instances to general applications of concepts. These emerge from the data as opposed to being established prior to the study.
6. The data collection often determines the direction of the study. Thus, the research design has flexibility.

The case study approach as one of many qualitative research methods bases its interpretation on an understanding of the subjects from their own point of view. It is a technique which provides descriptive data allowing a view of the world as the subjects see it.

C. Data Sources and Data Collection

The data to be used in this study were obtained from three main sources: (1) semi-structured interviews, which were taped and later transcribed, (2) official documents, minutes of meetings, reports and official publications, (3) non-official documents, personal records and newspapers.

Kerlinger (1967:698-699) defined primary and secondary sources of data as follows:

> A primary source of data is the original repository of an historical datum, like an original record kept of an important occasion, an eyewitness description of an event...minutes of organizational meetings, and so on. A secondary source is an account or record of an historical event or circumstances one or more steps removed from an original repository...for example, a newspaper account....

Kerlinger (1967:698-699) advocated, as one of the basic rules of research, "the use of primary sources for materials and data, especially those about human beings and their activities."

Interviews were used as a major component of data collection. They served three purposes: (1) to document personal and group perspectives concerning events relevant to the study, (2) to provide data not available in documents, and (3) to confirm and assist in interpretation of data obtained from interviews and documents. The interviwees in this study were selected from a snowball sample (McCall and Simons, 1969). With this method the researcher selected information which directed him to certain persons, key personalities, in the same way as the reputational method. These persons then identified others who were subsequently interviewed. This process continued until a saturation point was reached and when no new information appeared forthcoming. The document search also led to the identification of key actors who were interviewed. Interviews followed a semi-structured format. An interview guide was used rather than a rigid list of questions. This method allowed conversation to flow freely, aided by prepared questions. The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions in order to obtain a maximum amount of information and explore new questions that arose spontaneously during the discussion.[1] Kerlinger (1967:471) indicated that open-ended questions provide "a frame of reference for respondents' answers, [but place] a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression." Information from the interviews also led to the discovery of relevant documents. Interviews were conducted with thirty one persons and included Azoreans and Portuguese. While the Azoreans represented many different professional groups, the Portuguese (except for General Magalhães) were involved in the Ministry of Education at the time of the creation of the University and in the first years of its establishment. As such they were designated elite interviews (Dexter, 1970). While some of the Azorean interviewees were known as having been interested in the creation of the University, others were members of the task force and of the installation commission. Still others were members of the community at large, and were believed to represent the social forces in that community.

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[1] A list of interviewees and the interview guide are provided in Appendices A and B.

All interviewees in the Azores were initially contacted by the researcher in person or by telephone including General Magalhães who was on a mission for the National Institute of Defense and then interviewed in Lisbon. The interviews in Lisbon were arranged through Mário Cordeiro, a friend of the researcher in the Ministry of Education. Most of them were told of the purpose of the study and the reason for requesting an interview. All agreed to an interview, though two preferred to answer in writing. These interviews proved to be unproductive.

Although there were directed global questions, some of them were pertinent to different interviewees, depending on their role played, if known before hand (i.e. task force member). In the later stages of data collection, however, interviews tended to become more structured (Guba and Lincoln, 1981) and focused (Cohen and Manion, 1980) as the researcher attempted to develop those aspects of the study that had emerged as being of particular interest or which required more exploration.

Location of the interviews varied. Eight were conducted in the respondents' homes, seven in the researcher's home, and sixteen in the respondents' offices. A relaxed, non-threatening atmosphere was created for all interviews. A friendly, conversational approach was used in the questioning.

At the initial contact, the researcher requested permission to tape record the interview. The interviewees were informed that the tape recorder could be readily turned off at any stage for "off the record" comments. All interviewees granted permission to use the tape recorder. On two occasions potential interviewees themselves suggested the recording of the interview. On only two occasions was a request made to stop the taping, while the respondents volunteered "off the record" comments. Such comments were often valuable, providing the researcher with insights which contributed greatly to his understanding and interpretation of the data. Most of the data related to the research questions were not considered to be of a sensitive nature by the respondents.

In deference to Kerlinger, primary sources, such as reports, correspondence, memoranda, policy statements, working documents, legal documents, speeches for public presentation, and minutes of meetings, were used wherever possible. However, secondary sources were used to supplement primary sources. Secondary sources included newspaper reports and historical accounts. Secondary sources were used only if their content was substantiated by primary sources.

Interpretation was ongoing throughout the interview process and document search. Following the interviews, the tapes were transcribed. The researcher went back to subjects if further questions arose after the transcription. The tapes were kept with a master copy of each interview.

Data from the interviews and documents were analyzed and categorized according to the views of the interviewees in relation to the questions. Main themes were catalogued using that method. Historical documents were the principal source of information for Chapters IV and V. These chapters are important because they describe the social, political and cultural context which affected reforms in the educational system and the creation of the University of the Azores.

D. Methodological Rigor

No matter whether a researcher chooses a quantitative or qualitative approach, the methodology must meet the test of rigor required by scientific inquiry. Of particular relevance to this study are the questions of validity, reliability and objectivity.

Guba and Lincoln (1982:246-247) supplant these rationalistic terms with analogous terms from the naturalistic paradigm: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility has to do with the degree of confidence in the findings of a particular inquiry. Because naturalistic research considers social realities as subjectively constructed in the minds of people, the crucial concern is whether the sources agree with the researcher's analysis, formulation, and interpretations.

Transferability is possible if there is enough "thick description" to make a "reasoned judgment" about transferability. The naturalist discounts generalizability except in a limited sense were there is substantial similarity between two situations.

Dependability refers to stability of data since in naturalistic research "designs are emergent" and "emergent designs" prevent replication.

The onus of objectivity is placed on the confirmability of the data instead of attempting to attribute objectivity to the researcher.

With respect to credibility, dependability and confirmability, Guba and Lincoln (1982:247-248) suggested triangulation as an assurance of methodological rigor. Triangulation is a method whereby a variety of data sources are pitted one against the other to cross check data and interpretation (Denzin, 1978). Jick (1979:604) suggested that "the effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another." In this study, the three main sources, namely, interviews, official and non-official data led to triangulation to assure credibility and confirmability. Dependability is also assured because the overlap of the data gathering methods produces "complementary results". Another method of assuring credibility, suggested by Guba and Lincoln

(1982:247), is the leaving of an "audit trail." This process was followed by keeping an "audit booklet" and all tapes and transcriptions. These materials can be used by the researcher or an external auditor to verify the accuracy of the study.

With respect to transferability, Guba and Lincoln (1982:248), suggested the use of purposive sampling and thick description. In this study, the snow ball sampling technique was used to "maximize the range of information collected." Thick description was achieved by providing enough information about the creation of the University of the Azores to allow judgements about the transferability of policymaking to similar situations.

As an Azorean, the reseacher was particularly conscious of the need to acknowledge his own biases, prejudices and implicit assumptions concerning the social and political context of the study. The researcher holds personal views regarding his ancestry and Lusitanian culture of which he his very proud. However, as a product of insularity, his expressed beliefs may carry unavoidable tones which, have their roots in the Azorean culture.

Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the research methodology and the study design. A discussion of the case study method as it applied to the study of policymaking was put into the context of qualitative research. Data sources and data collection techniques were presented. Data obtained from interviews served to supplement as well as to cross-validate data collected from documentary sources. Methodological rigor was discussed and triangulation was proposed as a means of insuring "trustworthiness".

Chapter IV

PORTUGAL:A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Following a long struggle, which involved dynastic and territorial conflicts, Portugal emerged as a nation independent from Spain in the twelfth century. Geographically as a small territory along the southwest coastline of Europe, the nation grew to become the biggest empire in the world by the end of the Middle Ages, only to return to almost the size of its origins in the late 1970s.

In this chapter an overview of major political changes and their relation to social events, especially in education, is presented. The chapter begins with the transition of Portugal from the Middle Ages to the era of Humanism, and describes other political and cultural developments until the military coup of April 25, 1974.

From 1179 until 1910 Portugal was a Monarchy. In 1910 a Republic was created but the ensuing style of leadership resulted in a dictatorship. Finally in 1974 a military coup overthrew the dictatorship to allow Portugal to emerge as a democratic nation.

A. Middle Ages (1179-1525)

During the Middle Ages the creation of elementary and higher learning institutions in Portugal, as in other European nations, was sponsored by the church with deliberate support from the royalty. Medieval culture was commonly a church monopoly. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, due to the development of urban life, the monastic schools of Braga, Coimbra and Alcobaça assumed leadership in the field of education. An episcopal school in Lisbon appeared after the conquest of the Moors in 1147 (Nunes, 1978; Coelho, 1973).

The University is among the oldest institutions in Portugal. Its origins may be traced back to the early religious schools and the proposal of the rectors of São Vicente of Lisbon, Guimarães, and other localities to the King and to the Pope to create a University. In 1290 King Dinis (1279-1325) created a "Studium Generale" in Lisbon. Shortly after, the Papal bull, "De Statu Regni Portugaliae," approved the creation of the University. This was the first attempt toward organizing secular education.

Although the transition from religious to secular organization in education occurred during this period, education was primarily geared to the clergy and nobility. The Papal bull gave direction for the studies to be pursued and provided a framework for curricula, including canon law, Roman law, grammar, logic, music, theology and medicine (Fernandes, 1978). The University was transferred three times to Coimbra and twice relocated in Lisbon. In 1537, the University was transferred for a final time to Coimbra.

Education, as suggested by Coelho (1973), seemed to have progressed in Portugal in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, the literacy was still rare during the reign of King Duarte (1433-1438) who gave judgeships to capable men, regardless of their knowledge of reading (Coelho, 1973).

B. Humanism (1525-1650)

By the end of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, feudalism was desintegrating, giving way to the emergence of capitalism. Humanism emerged as an anti-traditional movement which shook the European Christian culture, and stimulated new cultural needs. The humanists became adversaries of the prevalent scholastic philosophy, thus promoting conditions for a broader understanding of the sciences, literature and art.

Marques (1972:194) examined Portuguese Humanism from three view points: the teaching, the literary production, and the international contacts. An increase in foreign-trained instructors in the University, in the ecclesiastical schools, in the newly founded schools and in private tutoring brought new approaches to teaching and different perspectives on subject matter. In the 1530's and 1540's more than twenty colleges were created throughout Portugal, the most famous being the Royal College, or the

College of Arts and Humanities founded in 1547 by the King in Coimbra. The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) had been instituted in Spain by Pope Paul III and invited by King John III (1521-1557) to come and practice their apostolate in Portugal. Administration and responsibilities for instruction in the Royal College were given to the Society of Jesus in 1555.

In spite of Portuguese maritime expeditions and discoveries of the sixteenth century and the need for administrative personnel, education during the humanist period continued to benefit the nobility and the bourgeoisie. It was because of the need for administrative personnel and the demands for primary education that education became public in the eighteenth century (Santos, 1913).

Marques (1972, 1:197) noted that the impact of Humanism on literature and literary production was less than on education. Humanism "triumphed" in the second half of the sixteenth century among literary circles, only then leading to a Portuguese Renaissance in literature.

The key to the rise and development of Humanism in Portugal, according to Marques (1972, 1:199), was in the "intensity of international contacts." Portugal became the center and the door to the new world. Traders, then scholars, and finally the curious made their way to Portugal, bringing their wealth and culture.

Unlike northern Europe, the Reformation had little effect in Portugal. A few "reformists" probably existed among the intellectuals but they were "careful to conceal themselves under pious Catholic behavior" (Marques, 1972, 1:206). The Inquisition discouraged and fought the Reformation in both Spain and Portugal.

In this period education was characterized by the transition from Monasticism to Humanism, though few changes were introduced in the University as a consequence of the humanist movement. Education was still a privilege of the noblemen, of the rich bourgeoisie, and of the clergy. Humanism in the Royal College in Coimbra as well as in other colleges was suppressed to a large extent due to the influence of the Jesuits.

C. Enlightenment (1650-1820)

Enlightenment is part of the path which Portugal followed from the Restoration to the Liberal Revolution. From 1580 to 1640 Spain ruled Portugal. Portugal regained independence with the Restoration in 1640. After the Restoration, the need to reorganize the nation, the desire to affirm alliances with European nations, and the recovery from Spanish sovereignty were predisposing factors towards an openness to the "Europe of the Lights."

Through its discipline and persistent work, the Society of Jesus became one of the most powerful organizations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It enjoyed exceptional prestige and a prominent position through special laws, privileges and exclusive rights. The Society of Jesus strengthened by the Inquisition, was an enemy of Humanism and active in the Counter Reformation. Because it had a powerful pedagogical base, the Society controlled education throughout the Portuguese empire for almost two centuries. Its power was felt in the commercial, social and political life (Pinheiro, 1892; Dias, 1928) .

During the first half of the seventeenth century, a new religious order of Italian origin, the Oratorian Congregation, had spread to France. The confessor of the royal family and priest to King John IV (1640-1656) influenced the Queen to accept the new congregation in Portugal. Afterwards, King John V (1707-1750) recognized the congregation by helping it to establish a college in competition to that of the Society of Jesus, thereby ending the Society's exclusive control in education. The Oratorian Congregation proved to be more open to progress, and its intellectual strength competed with the Society of Jesus. Other adversaries also became active in opposing the scholastic philosophy maintained and imposed by the Jesuits.

Education was greatly influenced by Antonio Luis Verney and other Portuguese philosophers who opposed the Jesuits. While some were interested in the education of the privileged and noblemen, Verney advocated public education and was the first to proclaim its diffusion (Coelho, 1973; Dias, 1928). Whereas state education was introduced to the

Protestant nations in the sixteenth century by the Reformation, it was much later in the eighteenth century that Enlightenment advocated public education in the Catholic nations.

Modern philosophy and science were finally being introduced in Portugal. In King Joseph's reign (1750-1777) the Prime Minister, Marquis of Pombal, supported educational reforms, but was strongly contested by the Jesuits. Because their great power and organizational capabilities gave rise to a profound hatred and fear, by 1771 the Jesuits became the focus of many violent and uncontrolled rivalries in many congregations and religious orders throughout Portugal -- "War against the Jesuits" was declared (Frazão, 1982).

The Marquis of Pombal used his influence before the Holy See. Consequently, the Patriach of Lisbon suspended the Jesuits from preaching and hearing confessions. Pombal closed the University of Évora, confiscated the Jesuits' real estate and expelled them from the nation.[3] Other nations soon followed Portugal in expelling the Jesuits.

With their expulsion, education became less available, but with the help of Verney and other scholars, Pombal started to reform the educational system. He used the Jesuits' confiscated properties to support official public education (Dias, 1928). He made arrangements with other religious orders such as the Oratorians, "Gracianos" and

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[3] The University of Évora was founded in 1559. It was the major centre of Jesuits' culture in Portugal. The University took the name of the city were it was founded.

Franciscans to provide instruction. He recognized that secondary studies, until then provided by the Jesuits, should become more secularized.

Up to the time of Pombal, changes in University education were minimal. Then in 1772 Pombal introduced reforms to University studies. Called "Reforma Pombalina," it created two levels in the educational system. Besides the University, Pombal created elementary schools and introduced more courses at the secondary level. The organization of public primary education was one of the first attempts in the world. Four hundred and seventy nine primary public schools were created; of these fifteen were in the archipelagos of Azores and Madeira and twenty four in the overseas colonies.

Pombal's reforms were accepted in all fields except in elementary education because, according to Coelho (1973), there was a fear that widespread public elementary education would propagate heretic and revolutionary ideas. With the death of King Joseph in 1777, the Marquis of Pombal lost his power, and reforms in elementary education were dropped. After the Pombal administration (1750-1777), the social structure of the government was characterized by the predominance of the nobility, clergy, privileged religious orders and by the social and cultural functions which the absolute state attributed to them. In this context, University reform was directly tied to the needs of the absolute state to produce qualified personnel for its maintenance and development (Serrão, 1981).

Europe of the eighteenth century was, according to Correia (1974), the beginning of a new trend in life and thought whose roots went back to the first humanists. Silva Dias, (cited in Correia, 1974:9) wrote that the cultural perspectives of Portuguese life in the sixteenth century, little by little, gave way to the new ideas of the Enlightenment, but it wasn't until the eighteenth century that signs of a renewal initiated by the Renaissance movement were evident.

D. Liberalism (1820-1910)

Though Liberalism was known in Portugal at the end of the eighteenth century, its ideology only triumphed in Portugal in 1820. During the period prior to Liberalism, a number of factors contributed to the discontinuation of reforms implemented by Pombal, which had mostly benefited the elite bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. Following King Joseph, the kingdom became reactionary. A crisis situation was created by the French Revolution. The French invaded under Napoleon Bonaparte. Portugal gradually began to lose its control in Brazil. This sequence of events, according to Serrão (1969), resulted in resistance to change, causing the nation to regress to the first decades of the eighteenth century. Portuguese society remained faithful to the powers of the aristocracy and omnipotence of the Catholic Church. Only among the elite bourgeoisie, who had been influenced by the Enlightenment, did the ideological and social roots of Portuguese Liberalism take hold. Finally, in the the first part of the nineteenth century, Liberalism brought about the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The first constitutional charter in 1822 declared the principles of free education for all citizens.[3] Though a few changes occurred in the educational system, the constitution did not survive. It was "too progressive" and "too democratic" for the period (Marques, 1972, 2:44).

Between 1823 and 1834 the absolutists reacted by closing down schools and persecuting teachers who supported the liberal doctrines. But from 1834 it became possible to document clear progress in educational reform at many levels. With the triumph of the democrats in September (Setembrismo) of 1836, the educational system was reestablished within the social and political aspirations of Liberalism.[4] The new educational system brought freedom and access to education. Secondary education was introduced in the capitals of the districts, with the creation of the lycees.

The bourgeoisie, as stated by Saraiva (1971), needed an education which provided a global view of contemporary science to prepare for a more complex political and economic life. New knowledge and its integration in the fields of agriculture, mechanics and political economy made it imperative to direct public education towards industrial and economic development. With the consolidation of the liberal regime it was possible to articulate a set of laws in education. Elementary education became more available. Secondary education and polytechnical schools to prepare new professionals needed for the development of the nation were advocated and built.

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[3] The first Portuguese constitution contain various commitments of the state under social rights in regards to free elementary education, the guarantee of the existence of colleges and universities for the teaching of sciences, fine arts and letters (Caetano, 1978) .

[4] A successful revolution which was named after the month of September.

However, contrary to the technical reforms which took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, the University continued to be "mediocre and timid" (Marques, 1976). The University of Coimbra maintained exclusive control of University studies, even though its faculties had not followed the scientific development taking place throughout the world. Since the beginning of Liberalism, the liberals had waged a powerful campaign to discredit the University. The University was operating on a basis of tradition and absolutism which was mistrusted by the liberals. Throughout the nineteenth century, a number of measures were introduced to decrease the absolute power enjoyed by the University, but politically the progress and regression of the legislation clearly reflected the policy shifts of the parliamentary regime, which did not have a propitious milieu conducive to the achievement of stability. The last decade of the nineteenth century was followed by a severe political and economic crisis.

Due to its contradiction, the constitutional monarchy no longer appealed to a younger generation influenced by socialist and republican ideals. These ideals were propelled by the generation of the 1870's and from this time on they grew into a strong national movement.

By the turn of the century the republicans had increased in number and aggressiveness. Between 1890 and 1906 there was a general mistrust of the monarchy. A dictatorship or "Franquismo" in 1907 resulted because of the republican attempts to overthrow the monarchy. [5] The violence and repression of the "Franquismo" brought about long academic strikes at the University of Coimbra and a general movement against the dictatorship. The poor social and economic conditions of the people led to migration to the major cities to get away from oppression by the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. The migrants became a nascent middle bourgeoisie, which turned militant republicans and subversive forces against the monarchy and the church. With the murder of King Carlos in 1908, the monarchy neared its end, which occurred soon thereafter, in 1910.

This period was characterized by political instability. Liberalism opened the way to a constitutional monarchy. Despite some changes in education with the creation of polytechnical schools, higher education continued to be elitist and ignored real societal needs.

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[5] Refers to João Franco, a Counsellor of the Reign who introduced reforms in the primary and secondary education in 1894.

E. The First Republic (1910-1932)

Republican ideology was introduced in Portugal in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its major forces were initiated by an active intellectual group, known as the generation of 1870, mainly influenced by French socialist thought.

In 1910 the Republic replaced the constitutional monarchy. According to Serrão (1981), the Republic in its euphoria of victory and renewed liberal ideology, blamed the monarchy for the poor social and political situation of the nation. This alone, according to Macedo (1934, as cited in Serrão 1981:28) was enough to justify the change from a monarchy to a republican regime. Nevertheless, social and political turmoil continued up until 1926.

Based upon democratic-liberal premises, the Republic Constitution of 1911 established compulsory education. The number of schools for children and teacher education increased. New technical (industrial and commercial schools) and schools of agriculture opened. A Secretariat for Education made its appearance in 1913. A committee was organized in 1924 to promote research and post-graduate studies. Technical schools created in the late nineteenth century were elevated to the level of post-secondary institutions. For the first time, University education was decentralized and two new universities were founded -- one in Lisbon and the other in Oporto, ending the monopoly of the University of Coimbra. The creation of popular universities (Universidades Populares) and free universities (Universidades Livres) provided more opportunities for education. Open-air libraries were available in public gardens. Publications were available free or subsidized by book publishers.

Still, although the Republic was ready for a cultural revolution in Portugal, some reforms could not occur because of the scarcity of economic resources and political instability. However, what did occur had little influence over education policy in the decades following 1925. After these years of cultural renovation and political instability, a military coup in 1926 prepared the way for Professor António Oliveira Salazar who accepted the post of Finance Minister in 1828.

Despite great social and political turmoil the period of dramatic changes in the educational system which had their roots in the ideals of Liberalism came to an end. This short period (1911-1928) was nonetheless fertile for the development of education through reforms which created new institutions and more universities for the first time in almost eight centuries. The Republican period witnessed a highly interesting cultural ferment in the field of free learning and the popular spread of culture. Education was highly politicized.

F. "New State" (Estado Novo) (1932-1968)

The First World War caused intense financial problems in Portugal, resulting in nationwide strikes and government collapse. Finally the military intervened in 1926 and, to solve the economic crisis, the generals invited a young University Professor, Dr. António Oliveira Salazar, to become Finance Minister. By cutting spending and increasing taxes, within a year Salazar succeeded in balancing the budget for the first time since 1910. He paid off foreign debt and reestabished the value of the currency. This achievement established Salazar in power, which he maintained until he was physically disabled in 1968. He died in 1970.

In 1932 Salazar assumed the premiership of the country and drafted a constitution for his "Estado Novo" or new state. It was approved by plebiscite in 1933. Mónica (1978:86) described the "New State" as a reaction against the liberalism of the Republic. Generally the policy of Salazar consisted in strengthening the shaken traditional hierarchy and restoring power to the older groups.

Although heralded as a savior in the 1930s, by the 1960s Salazar had become extremely unpopular. As Salazar grew older, he was less inclined to change (Marques, 1972, 2:203), so that in the later years of his regime, Portugal suffered greatly from economic, social and cultural stagnation.

During the Second World War, Salazar maintained neutrality much to the benefit of Portugal. Britain and the United States paid for the use of the Azores as naval and air bases while Lisbon was the spy centre for both the Axis and Allied powers (The Globe and Mail, 28 July, 1970:8).

Following the war, Portuguese officials soon recognized that in order to meet the challenge of industrialization, technical education would have to be promoted. Portugal became a dualist society in which industrial growth contrasted with the agricultural society (Nunes, 1964). A modern society of the rich elite coexisted among the poor of the rural areas.

Mass education was never a top priority, though the rate of illiteracy slowly decreased from 68 per cent in 1930 to 45 per cent in 1950. Compulsory elementary education was abolished in 1936 to gain official support again in the 1950s. Secondary and technical education gained comparatively more support from the government, but higher education generally decreased (Marques,1972,2: 203-204)

Salazar was seen as an enemy of culture (Salazar, 1938; Gonçalves, 1974; Cardia, 1977). Brotas (1981) wrote that change in the Portuguese University system was almost non-existent in the three decades after 1930. The institutional and pedagogical structures remained stagnant. Research as a collective function did not exist. Libraries were poorly supplied and frequented. Cultural demonstrations were threatened because the political system feared progressive tendencies. University students were a privileged social group, even without collective power to protect their rights. Nascent student organizations were put under rigorous surveillance and soon eliminated.

University educational reforms were aimed at centralization with academic power concentrated in the deans and full professors. The standards of higher education deteriorated (Brotas, 1981; Marques, 1972). Periodic expulsions deprived the University of some of their best faculty members who left the country to work in foreign universities. For political reasons highly qualified faculty members were not hired, and promotions were made on the basis of political views, opening the way to academic mediocrity (Marques, 1972). The decades of the "New State" were characterized by political repression and poor educational opportunities.

By the beginning of the 1960's, Portugal faced a number of major problems. Because of Salazar's unwillingness to accept change, his responses to these problems were detrimental to Portugal. Salazar's growing insensitivity led to a major movement towards the liberalization of the political structures. Division plagued the regime. Salazar attempted to maintain control by giving more power to the censorship services and secret police (Marques,1972, 2:221-224). In addition, Salazar's refusal to reform the social systemled to increased emigration and to agricultural stagnation. Also, demands for independence in the

Portuguese African territories resulted in the colonial wars (Moura, 1969). Salazar was able to maintain control, but only at heavy financial and human cost to Portugal.

Change resulted unexpectedly. The President of the Republic turned to Professor Marcello Caetano who became the new Prime Minister.

G. "Social State" (Estado Social) (1968-1974)

Marcello Caetano who had held many ministerial posts during the Salazar Premiership, became the heir to a very rigid structure. In order to give the appearance of change, Caetano invited many politicians and intellectuals who were in exile or expatriated to return to the nation.But the political regime continued to be highly centralized, and was soon denounced because of its controls and repression. It became internationally more and more isolated. Agriculture was in stagnation and people continued to emigrate. Efforts to maintain sovereignty over the African colonies led to a severe crisis.

Philosophically, Caetano defended a technocratic capitalist ideology which was liberal and anti-monopolist. The "New State" of Salazar with political supremacy by an agrarian-commercial sector gave way to the "Social State" of Caetano which was established with the political support of the financial-industrial sector.

In January 1970, in an effort to modernize the educational system, Caetano invited Professor Veiga Simão to be Minister of Education. As its first rector, Veiga Simão had organized and dynamically administered the University of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique.[1]

Veiga Simão became the heir to a turbulent educational system. The student movement had steadly acquired increasing power. Academic power, educational pedagogy and administrative structures came to be questioned and attacked continuously. The role of the University in society was questioned. Increasing numbers of students seeking University education posed problems for the physical resources.

Veiga Simão assumed, as Minister of Education, a political and educational course most appropriate for a society in need of change. Education became more prominent than in the preceding years. Veiga Simão diagnosed the problems of the universities and outlined a plan for reform. He favoured an open dialogue between teachers and students, depoliticization of the school and democratization of education. He planned to accomodate the increasing number of students seeking higher education, to improve physical facilities and to increase the human resources needed for teaching and research. Reform aimed at a new philosophy and organization of education was introduced through law 5/73 of July 25th. This reform created new institutions of post-secondary education: (ten polytechnical institutes and nine colleges of education, three universities and one University Institute (Law 402/73 of August 11th).[1]

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[1] Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique changed its name to Maputo on January 3, 1976, after the Mozambique independence on July 25, 1975.

However, one year later on April 25, a military coup overthrew the Caetano regime before many of Veiga Simão's reforms could be introduced. Between 1974 and 1976 the political climate in Portugal was extremely anarchic. Social life was highly politicized and education was chaotic. Portuguese society started to be reorganized and new directions for education to support the new regime were planned. Veiga Simão's reforms were questioned, though some of the fundamental principles were retained to be introduced during the late 1970s.

This later period in the history of Portugal was divided into two parts: the "New State" and the "Social State." The first, despite small changes, was characterized by stagnation. The second was characterized by growing hopes and changes by which a new institutional philosophy was introduced. Both parts of this period fall within the dictatorship regime which ruled Portugal for almost five decades.

Summary

Table 1 presents a summary time line of the political regimes, eras, social, political and educational developments abstracted from Chapter IV.

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[1] University Institute is a higher education institution which differs from the University because of its limited range of programs. Its governance is the same as that of a University.

Table 1: A SUMMARY TIME LINE OF THE POLITICAL REGIMES, ERAS, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS ABSTRACTED FROM CHAPTER IV

MONARCHY
1179-1910

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
Middle Ages (1179-1525)	12th and 13th centuries	Monastic Schools	
	1290		"Studium Generale"
			to
Humanism (1525-1650)	1527		University of Coimbra
	1530-47		Colleges of Arts Royal College of Arts and Humanities
	1540	Jesuits in Portugal Counter Reformation Inquisition	
	1559		University of Evora
Enlightenment (1650-1820)	1710	Oratorian Congregation	
	1759	Expulsion and dissolution of Society of Jesus	
	1772		Educational Reforms "Reforma Pombalina" (Public elementary educ University educ.)

Continued

Table 1 (continued)

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
Liberalism (1820-1910)	1820	Constitutional Monarchy (Ed. rights)	Public elementary education
	1836	"Setembrismo"	Secondary education Lycees Technical schools
	1860	Political instability (ups and downs in educational reforms)	Normal schools

REPUBLIC
1910 --

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
The First Republic (1910-1932)	1911-28	Political instability (ups and downs in educational reforms)	Compulsory elementary education Upgrading Technical Schools to Post-secondary education Creation of Lisbon and Oporto Universities Popular and Free Universities

Continued

Table 1 (continued)

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
"New State" (1932-1968)	1936	Abolishment of compulsory elementary education Stagnation of institutional and pedagological structures	
	1950	Expulsion of Academic staff Capitalist agrarian-commercial society	
	1955	New supports for elementary education Decrease of standards in higher education	
"Social State" (1968-1974)	1968-73	Planning for a technocratic society New advocates for educational reform Veiga Simao Reform	
	1973		Creation of new Universities, Polytechnical Institutes and Colleges of Education
Democracy (1974--)	1974	Military coup	

Chapter V

THE AZORES CONTEXT

A. Geography, Population and Strategic Position

The archipelago of the Azores consists primarily of nine islands spread from east to west in the Atlantic Ocean.[a] It is 1,500 kms. from the European Continent and 3,900 kms. from the nearest point in North America. The distance between the most remote islands, Santa Maria on the east and Corvo on the west, is 600 kms. and between the nearest, Faial and Pico, is 10 kms. The maritime surface of the archipelago is 181,500 km2., an area double that of continental Portugal. Its land surface is 2,344 km2. At a depth of 15 km. below the surface of the ocean, the islands are joined by a basal plinth, evidence of their volcanic origin. Active volcanos still exist. The last eruption in 1957-1958 was on the island of Faial. The region is also subject to earthquakes. The morphology and relief of the islands depend greatly on its volcanic character which has influenced the history, ways of living, population mobility and characteristics of its people. The population of the Azores is 249,547 and its density is 107.7 inhabitants per km2. (INE, 1981).

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[a] Santa Maria, São Miguel, Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico, Faial, Flores & Corvo (Fig. 2).

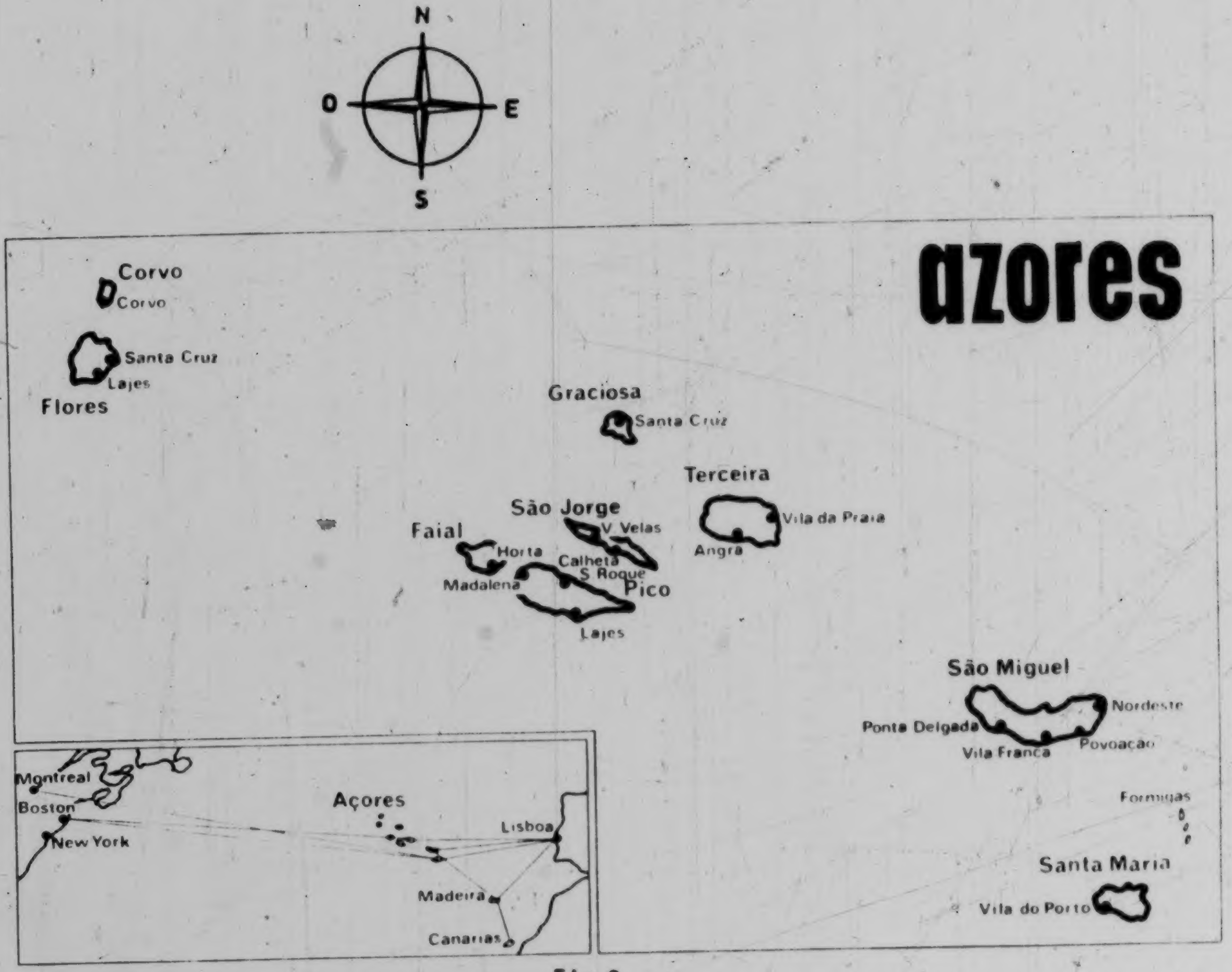
N
O
E
S
azores
Corvo
Corvo
Santa Cruz
Lajes
Flores
Graciosa
Santa Cruz
Terceira
Vila da Praia
Angra
São Jorge
V. Velas
Faial
Horta
Calheta
S. Roque
Madalena
Pico
Lajes
São Miguel
Nordeste
Ponta Delgada
Vila Franca
Povoação
Formigas
Santa Maria
Vila do Porto
Montreal
Boston
New York
Açores
Lisboa
Madeira
Canarias

Fig.2

Map of the Azores

The climate of the Azores is moderate. The following factors, proximity to the Gulf Stream to the north, small land areas surrounded by water and the effect of the mid Atlantic Azorean depression (anticyclone), assure an abundant year-round rainfall and a climate free of frosts. The soil is very fertile and the surrounding waters replete with marine life.

The islands of the Azores were discovered by the Portuguese between 1427 and 1452, although there are relatively well supported theories in favour of earlier dates. The discovery took place from east to west, Santa Maria being the first island to be discovered and Corvo the last. The settlement started after 1439 when a royal charter authorized Henry, the Navigator, to do so. The cultural level of the first settlers is difficult to determine; however, according to Costa (1978), the planners of the first settlement's institutions might have been educated men of Portuguese and Flemish origin. They were related to national or foreign elite of their time and their knowledge must have surpassed the level of basic navigation, agriculture and economics.

Since its discovery, the archipelago of the Azores has furnished an almost perfect base for adventurers voyaging into the unknown North Atlantic.[1] It also became indispensable in the maritime journeys of the Atlantic. The

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[1] Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, James Cook, Charles Darwin and many other travellers anchored here. (Costa, 1978).

Portuguese fleets going to the orient and occident as well as the Spanish, British and Dutch voyaging west stopped there. It became, in the sixteenth century, the universal port of call of the west. Enes (1984) described it as the Houston and Cape Canaveral of that time.

The strategic position of the islands was further enhanced in the nineteenth century with the development of the coal driven steam warships. During the First World War, the use of the port of Ponta Delgada on the island of São Miguel as a naval base by the British and later by the Americans was absolutely vital to the eventual allied victory over the German submarine fleets.

During the Second World War, Portugal remained neutral but allowed Great Britain to build an airbase on the island of Santa Maria as well on Terceira. These airbases were later used by the American forces and played an important role in the antisubmarine war and also in providing refueling facilities. Due to its strategic position as a location for planning and intelligence-gathering, and as an embarcation point for offensives, many international powers wanted control of and considered invading the islands (Nogueira, 1983:221-362).

Great Britain abandoned her military bases in the Azores in 1947. In 1951 the United States and Portugal signed a mutual defense treaty, which has been renegotiated periodically with more economic benefits for continental Portugal than for the Azores.

The strategic significance of the Lajes (Terceira) airbase for the United States cannot be overstated. Bailey (1976) wrote about its importance and traditional role as a refueling station during the time of the pre-revolutionary Portuguese government. He noted that during the October 1973 war between Israel and the Arabic countries, delays in the transportation of the vital military equipment to Israel could have decided the outcome of the war. Lajes is also a naval station where electronic surveillance of potential enemy submarine movements is collected from floating stations throughout the North Atlantic. To date several military bases are located in the Azores: the USA airbase at Lajes on Terceira, the French missile-tracking station on Flores and the NATO fuel-storage plant on the island of São Miguel. The Lajes field is used by aircraft of many allied countries and is also a Portuguese airport for civilian airlines.

Though the Azores lost its importance as a commercial route between Europe and North America, its strategic position has become more significant. This strategic importance continues to be stressed today. Lord Halifax, second commander of "Saclant", representing General MacDonald, supreme commander of the NATO allied forces, in a meeting in Ponta Delgada and outlined the importance of the base of Lajes and of the islands of the Azores in general.[18] He noted how important the archipelago was as a part of a line of surveillance which extends from Bermuda to Iceland, of great relevance in the defense of the Atlantic (Tempo, 1984:9).

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[18] The "Saclant": Allied Supreme Command of the North Atlantic with headquarters in the USA.

Azoreans have conflicting opinions about the use of the airbase by the United States. Some see that the future of the territory is threatened by alignment with Americans, while others, siding with the Portuguese living on the mainland, agree on American use of the airbase, but disagree with the distribution of income from the airbase agreement. In their view the economic benefits should contribute more to the development of the Azores (Tempo, 1984:9).

Hardly adjacent, 1,500 km. away from the European continent, the "Adjacent Islands" are not only isolated geographically, but also economically and socially. Azoreans frequently thought of themselves as second class citizens of Portugal, because of the isolation and abandonment which they perceived.

Lisbon never labelled the Azores officially as a colony, although they were not self-governing territories. Though not legally colonies, nevertheless Lisbon has, in the opinion of many Azoreans, repressed, ruled, and taxed heavily the Azorean population. For many decades the inhabitants of the Azores have been dissatisfied with their relationship with Lisbon. The revolution of 1974 suddenly gave Azoreans the opportunity to manifest their feelings, which range from a desire for true autonomy while remaining an integral part of Portugal, to a desire for complete independence.

B. Administrative Organization

The archipelago of the Azores is part of a highly centralized nation in which administrative regulations still reflect to the centralization of authority that dates back to the Roman empire. Although modified by King Philip of Spain, the administration of the islands was still very centralized up until 1974.

The first administrative organization of the Azores was highly influenced by the Portuguese medieval institutions, having two important distinguished characteristics. The first was the feudal structure whereby the islands belonged to the king who in turn donated them to a prince. These donators or lord proprietors (donatários) profited from the income shipped by the captain of the donator (capitão do donatário), his representative in the islands. The second significant feature related to the organization of the local administration around municipalities. The first communities were spontaneously organized following the Portuguese model with each island having one or more municipalities (Monjardino, 1980). Both the overall feudal structure and the local municipal organization formed the basis of the administration until the seventeenth century.

Under king Philip of Spain (1580-1640), a new political and administrative system was introduced in the archipelago and all authority was concentrated in one person, the

Governor General. However, the Governor General found that his power was limited because of the continuing prestige of the captains.

After the Restoration when Portugal recovered its independence from Spain in December 1640, the organization of the General Captaincy of the Azores (Capitania Geral dos Açores) was introduced. The Captain General was an aristocrat with centralized powers who had his residence in Angra (Terceira). The position existed until the first half of the nineteenth century when new forms of public administration began with liberal ideals, and a new system inspired by Napoleonic influences transferred and centralized the power from Angra to Lisbon. The islands were divided into two prefectures and shortly after into three districts: eastern, central and western, each formed by a group of islands utilizing the administrative structure established by the old municipal institutions (Monjardino, 1980).

The division of the islands into three administrative districts weakened them politically and, combined with neglect by Lisbon, was the cause of disgruntlement in the Azores. Beginning with the first Portuguese constitution (1822), the Azoreans systematically expressed their discontentment. In 1822, Albergaria de Sousa (cited in Carreiro, 1952) wrote in a protest that the only government system which could bring "happiness to the good Azorean people is a constitution with a Sovereign Senate constituted by elected representatives from the districts." Gradual increases in autonomy failed to satisfy those whose goal was complete autonomy. Consequently, they continued to attack the centralized structure which they considered to be an abnormal form of political and administrative organization.

Protests were intensified in the 1870's. Among the protestors was a separatist group desiring to annex the Azores to the USA. By 1895 the Portuguese government granted administrative autonomy to the three districts.[11] Though a first victory, autonomy did not satisfy the needs of the Azoreans because it did not fulfill their social and economic aspirations. By the end of the First World War a new separatist movement was formed, advocating annexation with the USA. Although short-lived, the movement was well accepted by the Azorean communities in the eastern states and California. With the military coup in 1926, new autonomist protests grew, resulting in a new law in 1928 which expanded the autonomy of the three districts and give them a better financial capacity. The effects of this change were soon reversed when Salazar introduced budget restraints and limited the administrative functions of the districts (Monjardino, 1980).

In 1937, Marcello Caetano visited the archipelago to hear its problems. His visit led to the Statute of the Autonomous Districts of the Adjacent Islands (Estatuto dos

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[11] The autonomy conceded was a consequence of a movement started in 1892, headed by Aristides Moreira da Mota (Costa, 1978).

Distritos Autonomos das Ilhas Adjacentes). However, because the statute gave very limited attention to the financial capacity of the islands, the districts remained incapable of meeting their expenses. The statute which remained in effect until 1974 perpetuated Salazar's dominant ideology. The result was that it maintained the supremacy of the central authority and stiffled local autonomy.

Following the revolution of April 25, 1974 there was an intensification of the autonomy movement. Within the turbulent political climate, the Portuguese government passed laws 458/75 and 100/76 of August, 1975 and September, 1976 respectively, introducing a transitional form of administration which developed into the Regional Government of the Azores. The new Constitution of the Portuguese Republic of 1976, considered the geographic, economic and social conditions, and the long held aspirations for autonomy, and established the Azores as an autonomous region of Portugal. As a result, the archipelago now has political and administrative powers with legislative and executive authorities.

The Regional Assembly of the Azores consists of forty three deputies, determined by the population of each island which in turn forms a constituency. The Regional Assembly can make laws and controls the activities of the Regional Government. Regional legislation is subjected to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Constitutional Court which rules on its conformity with the Constitution.

The Regional Government is politically responsible to the Regional Assembly. It consists of a President and ten Regional Secretaries, each in charge of one of the following departments:

1. Agriculture and Fisheries
2. Commerce and Industry
3. Education and Culture
4. European Integration and External Co-operation
5. Finance
6. Labour
7. Public Administration
8. Public Works
9. Social Affairs
10. Transport and Tourism

The Regional Government participates in the negotiation of international treaties in which Portugal is involved and in the drawing up of fiscal, monetary, financial and foreign exchange policies.

Portuguese sovereignty is represented in the Azores by the Minister of the Republic. He signs bills approved by the Regional institutions and as a member of the Council of the Ministers in Lisbon represents the interests of the Azores. Representatives are elected in the Azores who sit in the Portuguese National Assembly.

Despite its self government, the Azores remains in some areas of administration (i.e. external affairs, defense) a partially centralized region of Portugal.

C. Education in the Azores

For almost three centuries education in the Azores was provided by religious orders. Five members of the Franciscan order arrived at the beginning of the settlement of the Azores, that is, shortly after 1439. The Franciscans provided spiritual care, assisted the poor and the sick and provided basic education. Education of the youth was offered free in all islands by the Franciscans with no charge to the public treasury. In 1534 the Azorean diocese was established in Angra (Terceira). By 1578 the Franciscans had five monasteries and more were built throughout the archipelago in the seventeenth century (Dias, 1928). In 1553 there were five grammar teachers, paid by the government and placed in different parts of the archipelago. The position Master of Grammar was instituted by the royal charter of May 6, 1553, signed by the King Duarte, as a position under the direction of the monasteries of the brothers of San Francisco.[13] The Master of Grammar's appointment, and the curriculum, and students to be admitted were under the direction of the Bishop of the diocese.

In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the monks of Saint Augustine commonly known as "Gracianos" came to the island of São Miguel. By 1584 the "Gracianos" founded three houses in three villages. While Franciscans were involved in the teaching of grammar and Latin in which the Portuguese language was integrated, the "Gracianos" were teaching arts and theology. Later, in both Franciscan and "Gracianos" convents the teaching of humanities and theology was offered.

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[13] King Duarte was the oldest brother of Henry, the Navigator, who succeeded his father King John I.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, with authorization of King Sebastian (1554-1578), the Society of Jesus came to the Azores. Minor conflicts occurred with the Franciscans, who wished to have the exclusive privileges of providing education in the Azores. The conflicts grew and the dispute was settled in the court in 1620 in favor of the Franciscans. By 1572, at the King's own expense the Jesuits founded and started to build the Royal College of the Jesuits, where courses were taught in grammar and Latin, rhetoric, philosophy and theology (Sampaio, 1904) .

The Jesuits' examples of virtues and knowledge motivated the inhabitants of São Miguel. Gaspar Fructuoso, a priest who resided in São Miguel, influenced the rector of the Royal College of the Jesuits in Angra to establish a religious order in that island in 1570. In 1592 the Jesuits started to build a residence and church under the name College of All Saints. This college was later named the College of the Jesuits. The town of Horta on the island of Faial was the third in the Azoresto have a college of Jesuits and by 1648, the foundations for a building, including a church, a residence and classrooms were started. The educational program provided by the Jesuits was the classical religious curriculum adopted by the Society of

Jesus in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and could be afforded only by the rich and privileged. While the Franciscans had their schools in almost all towns in the islands, the Jesuits were located only in the three most populated cities.

Although very basic, education in the Azores assisted in navigation and settlement. Education was necessary for the exchange of commercial correspondence and led to the growth of public positions.

Turn of the Eighteenth Century

With the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal in 1759, secondary education became of absolute necessity on the Portuguese mainland, leading Prime Minister Pombal to introduce a reform in middle education (ensino médio). Though Franciscans and "Gracianos" continued to be involved in education, Pombal took over the education which had been provided by the Jesuits. With the reform of the University of Goimbra in 1772 and the attempt to organize primary public education, fifteen public primary schools were founded in the islands of the Azores and Madeira. The introduction of the teaching of mathematics in Coimbra led to the development of changes in the curricula offered in the former Jesuit colleges.

By the edict of April 22, 1797 the various units of the military were reorganized in the Azores. Two years later a Royal charter created a mathematics class in Angra for officers and subordinates. In the same city a Batallion of Artillery was created and a mathematics class was opened in 1805, leading to the creation of a Military Academy in 1818.[13] Closed in 1828 due to various difficulties, the Military Academy was reopened in 1830 to be finally closed two years later (Matos, 1980).

In summary, from the beginning of the settlement until the turn of the eighteenth century, religious orders provided education in the Azores. The first elementary public education was introduced by Pombal at the end of the eighteenth century. The Military Academy, which might be considered the first institution of higher education in the Azores was founded in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Liberalism

The Liberal revolution of 1820, benefited elementary education slightly, with the planned enlargement of school buildings.

The Constitution of 1822 proclaimed free education, but the absolutists in the years 1823-26 and 1828-34 closed schools and persecuted teachers who supported the liberals. However, following 1834 a certain continuity of educational progress was guaranteed (Marques, 1976).

Difficulties in the Military Academy led to a "Plan of Studies" in 1825. This highly plan highly ambitious for the time was never totally implemented but did bring about some reforms in education in the Azores. As an official document directed to the government, the "Plan of Studies" suggested reforms in the Military Academy and in all public education. The plan suggested that a small population does not need a specialized school, but a general school which should cover all basic principles for all professions. The author of the "Plan of the Studies" criticized the teaching of Latin, grammar, Greek, rhetoric, rational and moral philosophy, since they would be useful only to those students interested in pursuing University studies in Coimbra. At the time the "Plan of Studies" suggested courses not even taught in Coimbra (Matos, 1980).

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[13] This is the period of creation of military academies in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and Goa (India).

Specifically the plan proposed: (1) that schools in all villages teach reading, writing and arithmetic and Christian doctrine, (2) the extinction of Greek and rhetoric, leaving Latin grammar and rational and moral philosophy only to towns and cities, under the responsibility of the religious congregations, and (3) the establishment of general schools (escolas gerais) in Ponta Delgada and Angra. In these schools courses were proposed such as medical subjects, physics and mechanics, rural economy, etc. If completely executed, the plan would have led to the first polytechnical school in Portugal.

Suggestions related to medical subjects did lead to the creation of a medical school established in Ponta Delgada in

1836 (Dias, 1928).[14] The medical school was opened officially in 1839, to function in the hospital of the city (Archivo dos Açores, 1920:156). The program lasted four years more with the curriculum developed around four areas of study: anatomy, philosophy, general pathology, therapeutics and medical and surgical practica. Dias (1928) suggested that the closure of the school might have been encouraged by its faculty, as the time spent in teaching was needed for their practice. Also the idea of having physicians all over the islands might have discouraged them.

Several years later, with the creation of the lycees on the mainland, a lycee was founded in each of the three capital cities in the districts where the Jesuits had their colleges: Angra (1851), Ponta Delgada (1852) and Horta (1853).

Education for ecclesiastic life became a necessity after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1760. Religious courses were provided by the Franciscans throughout the islands. Only after the Franciscans had moved out of the archipelago was a seminary founded in Angra, in the year 1862.

Two technical schools were established in the Azores, in Angra in 1885 and the other in Ponta Delgada in 1890. Technical education had its roots in the eighteenth century with the reforms brought about by the Marquis of Pombal.

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[14] To qualify, a candidate should be 14 years old, have proof of good conduct and have successfully passed an examination in Portuguese and French grammar.

was enriched with two higher learning institutions, secondary schools, normal schools and technical schools. Illiteracyhad fallen to around thirty per cent in the Azores in 1911 (Enes, 1978) as contrasted with the mainland's sixty per cent in 1930 (Marques, 1976).

The First Republic, "New State" and "Social State"

Following the proclamation of the Republic in Portugal, primary education was decentralized between 1911 and 1918 and placed under the responsibility of the districts. Some philantropists interested in the development of culture contributed to the establishment of cultural centers, school libraries and vocational schools. Education was a concern of the districts but could not advance because of the financial difficulties imposed by Salazar.

The economic stagnation in Portugal between 1926 and 1943 was deeply felt in the Azores. The population was around 340,000 in 1950. Infant mortality was around sixty per thousand. Due to international pressures made in Lisbon, a school of nursing was opened in Ponta Delgada in 1958 to prepare nurses in order to improve health care. Another school of nursing was opened in Angra in 1962. Attempts in this decade to establish a higher education institution were unsuccessful (Enes, 1978).

A new seminary for beginning students was opened in Ponta Delgada in 1956, and the seminary of Angra was promoted to an higher institution of religious education.

In the early 1970s post-secondary education in the Azores consisted of normal schools and two schools of nursing. Except for the seminary of Angra there was no provision for University education.

Summary

Table 2 presents a summary time line of the political regimes, eras, social, political and educational developments abstracted from Chapter V.

Table 2 (continued)

REPUBLIC
1910 --

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
"New State" (1932-1968)	1937	Second autonomy movement	
	1957	Unsuccessful attempts for higher education	
	1958-62		Two Schools of Nursing
"Social State" (1968-1974)	1968-74	Social and political developments described in Chapter V	Educational developments described in Chapter V
Democracy (1974--)	1974	Military coup	

Table 2: A SUMMARY TIME LINE OF THE POLITICAL REGIMES, ERAS, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS ABSTRACTED FROM CHAPTER V

MONARCHY
1427-1910

ERAS	YEARS	SOCIAL/POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS
Middle Ages (1427-1525)	1427-52	Discovery of the Azores	
Humanism (1525-1650)		Arrival of Franciscans	From the settlement to the expulsion of the Jesuits education was provided by religious orders.
	1534	Creation of Diocese	
	1572-84	Arrival of Jesuits and "Gracianos"	
Enlightenment (1650-1820)	1759	Expulsion of Jesuits	
	1805-18		Mathematics class and Military Academy in Angra
Liberalism (1820-1910)	1820		Public elementary education
	1825-36	"Plan of Studies"	Medical School
	1851-53		Secondary education Lycees
	1862		Seminary of Angra
	1885-99	Unsuccessful attempts for agricultural education	Technical Schools "Pilotage School" Normal schools
	1895	First autonomy movement	

Continued

Chapter VI

ANTECEDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY

As indicated in the preceding chapter, soon after the settlement of the Azores in the fifteenth century the Franciscan brothers started schools there, but not until the nineteenth century was there any notion of a need for higher education. In the early part of the century a military academy and a medical school were founded but soon closed. The first normal school was created in 1875. By 1899 each of the districts had normal schools for training elementary teachers. In 1896, perhaps in response to the first autonomy movement, plans were made for a school of agriculture, but this was never realized. The next attempts to found a higher education institution weremade in the 1950s but these also were unsuccessful.

Though all of these factors influenced the decision to establish a University, other events were probably more important in influencing the values and behaviours that led the people of the Azores to desire their own institution of higher education. Without the additional preparation, beginning with the first Azorean Congress in 1938, the project might well have failed. Events which commenced during the years of stagnation and uncertainty of the Salazar regime and multiplied from 1960 to 1974 in a period of growing hope, created an awareness of the cultural, social, and economic needs of the archipelago, many of which could be best fulfilled through the establishment of a University. This movement gained momentum as more and more Azoreans graduated from the universities in Portugal. Finally the military coup in 1974 ended the dictatorship which had ruled Portugal for nearly half a century. In the critical year which followed, Azoreans were divided in agitating for either political autonomy or independence from Portugal. In response, in order to placate them, they were offered a University. They seized upon the opportunity.

This section introduces the events which served as antecedents to the creation of the University beginning in 1938 through the critical year ending in 1976. Also described is the emergence of the University, starting with the planning of a small interest group to the government initiatives in Ministerial Directive 414/75 and law 5/76 which created the institution.

A. Decades of Stagnation and Uncertainty

The decades of the Salazar regime were years of stagnation and uncertainty. Although "Salazar administered economically, he planned little" (Nowell, 1973:154). He gave little support to industrialization which he considered "as a breeder of discontent and potential trouble among the masses." Reforms which brought comfort and the amenities of life were centered in Lisbon. He "froze" Portugal in a "mold" of the past.

Salazar maintained control through censors and secret police. "Of all the repressive mechanisms," Marques(1972, 2:187) described censorship "as the most efficient, the one that certainly has done more to keep things little changed for forty years." And the secret police, Marques (1972, 2:188) indicated, "although less violent and especially less organized than the German Gestapo or the Soviet Secret Police," were reminiscent "of the Inquisition in its golden days." Fear of this centralized power spread through every fibre of Portuguese society and reached across the ocean to the Azores.

Though this strict control affected Portuguese life generally, it had no less influence in education where the government did little to make improvements (Marques, 1972, 2:203-206). Education continued to be elitist -- only the rich and favored few could afford it. And, though, after centuries of monopoly in higher education, three universties now existed, still control was centralized. The universities perpetuated tradition and social class. There was no social mobility; the social hierarchy was rigid. In addition, outside traditional education, cultural development stagnated because of the "growing interference of government and its mistrust of progressive currents of thought" (Marques, 1972, 2:206-208). This had great effect on literature, on journalism, in the cinema and on political thought. Poor perspectives and a lack of direction permeated the populace -- particularly among the lower classes. Government repression and limited opportunities suffocated cultural expansion in Portugal and also in the Azores.

In the Azores, these decades of stagnation were altered only slightly and only momentarily by two events -- The First Azorean Congress of 1938 and the Azorean Insular Conference of 1954. The First Azorean Congress was a high point in Azorean history because, for the first time, Portugal listened to the archipelago's expressed needs, though it did not act upon them. The Azorean Insular Conference, held in the islands, was meant to be part of a continuing process, leading to growth and development. The delegates met only once, and the process ended.

The First Azorean Congress

In the 1930s eighty percent of the Portuguese population lived in rural settings. Peasants strictly obeyed the landowners on whom they depended for their meager livelihoods. Illiteracy was estimated to be about sixty per cent (Marques, 1976). Economically the country was rated among the lowest in Europe. It was a paternalistic society with a powerful land-owning bourgeoisie. Famine and disease led to one of the highest mortality rates on the European continent.

The Azorean archipelago was not immune from these problems of continental Portugal. In addition, it had problems unique to its isolation. Since the first demands for autonomy in the 1890s, there had been attempts, mostly by the educated elite of the Azores, to make the central government recognize the problems of the islands. They desired improvement in the political and administrative structures which would contribute to social, economic and cultural betterment. In reaction to the second autonomy movement of the 1920s, Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar strengthened the three governing disticts, which had the effect of dividing and weakening rather than strengthening the islands. Then, in 1938, as a means of defusing frustrations, Salazar invited delegates from the islands to Lisbon to discuss their problems and needs.

The concept of an Azorean conference as a means of expressing the population's concerns dated back to 1908. Because of the intervening war, the subsequent political struggles and the economic depression, affecting most of the western world, including Portugal, Salazar came to power in response to these problems.

The First Azorean Congress, as it was called, was held from the eighth to the fifteenth of May 1938. The archipelago brought its voice to Lisbon, introducing the dispersed islands to continental Portugal and calling to the attention of the political powers the problems affecting them. Never in Portuguese life had the Azores been so highly publicized in the media, especially in the major newspapers of the time. The conference topics, under the auspices of the Central Government, were broad. There were sessions about seismology, climatology, ethnography, agriculture and fisheries, commerce and industry, health and education. Delegates, representing the Azorean elite, interwove eulogies with petitions, presenting the needs of the islanders to the Portuese officials, including the President of the Republic. The effort was mammoth, with two hundred and one information sessions and workshops, and a number of social functions and radio conferencesbeing held in five days. In addition Azorean problems related to art, folklore and music were studied throughout a full week in many parts of Lisbon.

In the field of education, delegates addressed needs and values related to the shortage of teachers, in both primary and secondary schools, in the general and technical subjects, in home economics and agriculture (Grémio dos Açores, 1940).

Few children went to school and, of those who did, few had higher education opportunities. For example, statistics between 1931 and 1937 at the lycee of Ponta Delgada on the island of São Miguel showed 232 students in grade nine. Of these 232 students, 141 continued to grade eleven. Out of the 141 students, 88 continued their education in continental Portugal (Miller Guerra, 1970). It was felt that if more education and greater economic resources were available, many more students would attend the universities.

Delegates left having identified many needs, among them the requirements for improved teacher education and technical education for financial help to facilitate island development and cultural expansion, and for basic sanitation, maternity care, and health and welfare. These expressed needs were congruent with reality, in many instances, but voicing them did not lead to their solution. The problems continued to exist for some decades to follow.

Azorean Insular Conference

Sixteen years passed after the first Azorean Congress of 1938. Meanwhile, the desire of the Azoreans to find solutions for the problems common to all of the islands continued. The Azorean elite continued to agitate for changes, but none occurred. Finally in the early 1950s the Civil Governor of the Disrict of Ponta Delgada suggested that representatives from the three districts should meet to work on their common problens. This led to the Azorean Insular Conference of 1954.

Conference topics related to administration, economics, tourism and artistic questions. Organizers divided the topics and scheduled meetings in the three districts. Though there was no specific discussion of education in the workshops, delegates expressed the need for recruiting qualified personnel in education (Ts-F.C.C.#38018). At the end of the conference, the delegates who were drawn from among the public officials and the island's elite, proposed another conference to be held in the District of Angra. At it, they suggested the discussion of problems including those related to the conservation and evaluation of Azorean architecture, the protection of the historical and literary values of the archipelago, and the safeguarding of the islands' ecology. The proposed conference was never held.

The Azorean Insular Conference of 1954 was a step forward in a society concerned with the need for and value of development. It concluded with the recognition of the need for a promotion plan to attract tourists and to increase production through better agricultural technology and soil management. Although the delegates did not identify specific strategies for resolving these problems, they did share their common concerns and communicated and reaffirmed the sentiments of the islanders. The Azorean Insular Conference revealed the preoccupation of a people wishing to bloom but seeing themselves obstructed.

B. Decades of Growing Hope

Almost a decade passed before the Azoreans met again in a formal setting during the so called Weeks of Azorean Studies. The following section describes the Weeks of Azorean Studies and subsequent events, including the Third and Fourth Developmental Plans, the Lagoa Lectures, the Aveiro and Tomar Conferences, and the Veiga Simão reform, all of which seem to have influenced the establishment of the University. Before discussing these events, however, the forces which led to the Weeks of Azorean Studies are identified.

In the fifties attempts had been made for the establishment of higher education in the islands, but nothing materialized (Enes, 1978). Meanwhile, in spite of the generally shared feelings about stagnation and uncertainty in the Azores, a rebirth was occurring through economic research and development and through the study of the humanities.

The forces for an economic rebirth had their basis in the nineteenth century. Renowned scientists interested in researching the economic and scientific dimensions of the islands, had visited the Azores. Following their visits the Miguelian Agricultural Society, a private organization, was formed in 1843. It was the first of its kind in all of Portugal. Members of this society articulated a plan in 1896 for an agricultural school, which never materialized. Later, as a consequence of the Statute of the Autonomous Region, the civil governors of the districts established organizations for economic development in the areas of agriculture, animal production, forestry and horticulture. During the 1950s these organizations were still active, though little seems to have happened as a consequence of their planning.

The growing interest in the humanities, beginning as early as the 1940s, translated itself into the formation of cultural groups, which combined their interests in history, geography and ethnography in three different islands: the Historic Institute of the Island of Terceira formed in 1943, the Historical Institute of Ponta Delgada in 1946, and the Cultural Group of Horta in 1956. In the early 1960s, through the Azorean Cultural Institute (IAC), these groups collaborated by sharing cultural activities at the level of the archipelago (Enes, 1978).

The foundation of the Azorean Cultural Institute was also influenced by the Seminary of Angra on the island of Terceira. Faculty members of the Seminary had had influence in secular community groups as far back as the 1940s. Then, inspired by the papal encyclicas on social issues the students and teachers became preoccupied with social problems and the desire for human improvement. These teachers and students brought their concerns with them in the formation of the IAC. Strongly motivated by their preocupations with the historical, religious and social problems facing Azoreans, members of IAC adopted a new outlook on these problems.The resulting dialogue sparked a growing hope for change.

The Azorean community also benefited from a small but steady increase in new graduates from the Portuguese and Gregorian universities, but they lacked direction. They were "unsettled and wasting their time," meeting in private homes for discussions that lasted often until sunrise. At the home of Dr. Estrêla Rego, among others, they discussed various problems and tried to delineate some strategies for their resolution. The idea, stated Dr. Rego, was "to join efforts toward cultural objectives" (Interview, November 4, 1983). An intense desire for cultural advancement and for greater participation in social and political life was emerging.

Weeks of Azorean Studies

It was during this period of intellectual ferment that the Weeks of Azorean Studies emerged. Between 1961 and 1966 the IAC "promoted one of the most outstanding enterprises of Azorean cultural life" (Almeida, 1983:108). They were the five Weeks of Studies (Semanas de Estudos dos Açores). Under the leadership of José Enes, a teacher at the Seminary of Angra, the first three Weeks of Studies were held in 1961 (Ponta Delgada), in 1963 (Angra do Heroísmo), and in 1964 (Horta).

Some of the discussion leaders in the first Week of Studies in 1960 were faculty members of the Seminary of Angra. The topics were narrow in scope, related to art, philosophy and religion. Nevertheless, inspired by the success of the first Week of Studies, the Second Week dealt with much broader topic areas under the motto, "know more to live better." The aim was to develop a social and economic awareness of the Azorean environment in order to enhance the profissional competence of participants and to promote a moral attitude in the public generally. Organizers expanded the religious and philosophical themes of the first Week of studies to include history, geography and agricultural economics in the later Weeks.

The second Week of Studies benefited from wide publicity and larger audiences. Participants made an intense analysis of the historical evolution of the islands, of their geographic limitations, the present social conditions and their agricultural problems. The ground was prepared for the third Week of Studies the following year which took place in Horta, a city in the island of Faial. Under the motto, "responsibility," the sessions covered mainly themes of agrarian economy (Enes, 1964).

Almeida (1983) stated that due to the socio-political and religious establishment, Enes was removed from the Azores and was substituted by Cunha de Oliveira who led the fourth and fifth Weeks of Studies respectively in 1965 (Ponta Delgada) and in 1966 (Angra do Heroísmo).

The Weeks of Studies ended with the recognition of the need for a better knowledge of the Azorean people, for an intensive study of education and insular culture, specifically in the domain of ethnography and folklore, and for geographic studies, aimed at a possible economic plan for the archipelago. The delegates realized that such studies would demand an increased knowledge base. Firstly, they made appeals for qualified personnel to the Ministry of Education, to the Bishop of the Diocese and to the Gulbenkian Foundation, a philantropist organization. These proposals were vocalized in desires for institutes of higher education. Secondly, they proposed the creation of study groups to cooperate with regional economic development officials. These proposals led to the establishment of the Azorean planning commissions, which had input to the Third and Fourth National Developmental Plans. Finally, they proposed the publication of studies related to ethnography, folklore and other topics. Such studies were in fact published.

Up to the time of the Weeks of Studies terms such as development, planning and technology had little meaning. Roberto Carneiro, a participant in the Weeks of Studies, vocalized many of the feelings: "the great victory of those weeks was that of sensitization, aimed at the awareness of development of the Azorean society" (Interview, 13 April, 1983). As a consequence of the Weeks of Studies, longitudinal, sequential developments materialized: first, the Weeks of Studies, then the Habitat Organization (aimed at the preparation of technicians to integrate planning) , and finally the planning commissions (Emiliano Carneiro, interview, 23 November, 1983).

Many Azoreans felt that the Weeks of Studies contributed most to the materialization of an institution of higher education. Yet, it would take a number of years to realize their full impact. Dr. Melo Bento, reflecting back on the Weeks of Studies, described them as a demonstration of Azorean intellectual capacity which had seemed to vanish during the Salazar years. During the Salazar regime, except for some reorganization of the educational system, higher education benefited little. The Salazar regime, according to Bento, was centralized in everyfield including University education (Interview 7 January, 1984). Prior to 1974, the Portuguese government was strong enough to resist any movement towards decentralization which would have favourably influenced education in the regions of Portugal. The Weeks of Studies were part of the movement towards decentralization which finally affected higher education.

Topics discussed during the Weeks of Studies became the first ferment for the creation of a post-secondary institution to prepare teachers for primary and secondary schools and technicians for agriculture and animal production to meet the needs of regional development. Old ideas, largely held dormant during the Salazar years sprang to life. Feelings of isolation, the need for equality of opportunity, for economic, social and cultural development and for political autonomy all led to an expressed belief that post-secondary schools were needed.

Many Azoreans saw isolation and the difficulties of access to higher education as directly related to their sense of social despair. This feeling was expressed by Dr. Álvaro Monjardino, who stated that the "community perceived itself as being extremely isolated" (Interview, 2 May 1984). The lack of economic resources increased this isolation and for many this was reason enough for establishing a University. This situation, recalled Melo Bento, frustrated some friends of his age who could have done well at University, but could not go (Interview). The expenses incurred from travel, room and board and University fees and the fact that they had to be away from family support made attendance difficult. According to Dr. Sousa Pedro this was especially true for women. The change from the small environment of the Azores to the bigger urban mainland environment justified the creation of a local University in the minds of many Azoreans (Interview, 20 November 1983). Compared with their Portuguese counterparts, Azorean students had many more economic difficulties while pursuing University studies. It was expected that the creation of a University in the archipelago would overcome this deficiency.

While viewing the University as a means of providing equality of opportunity, many Azoreans saw it also as a means of solving the pressing need for economic and social development. Eduardo Moura claimed that "the islander who lives here, who stays, and remains in the islands must have access to some means of cultural and professional development. People have a right to social advancement" (Interview, 28 November 1983). He lamented the loss of many young people who left the islands never to return. With more students desiring to further their education, in the end the demand for higher education would result in crowding in the mainland institutions. An institution of higher education in the Azores would keep the islands' youth at home and bring about economic and social development.

Two educators on the mainland, Marçal Grilo and Roberto Carneiro, though they agreed that a University would have wide benefits in the long term, felt its immediate impact would be cultural. According to Grilo and Carneiro universities are not motors of development, but answer the development needs of society by preparing future graduates, by developing relations with the community and contributing to innovations (Interviews, 12 and 13 April 1984).

Finally, some saw the establishment of a University as an affirmation of political autonomy. Azoreans educated in the Azores would understand more clearly the needs of the archipelago and respond to those needs by applying their new skills to the service of the islanders. The aspirations for higher education, along with other values, according to Gustavo Moura, would result in a "revitalization of the spirit of autonomy" (Interview, 6 November 1983). Reflecting this concern, Vaz do Rego, the last president of the general junta (Junta Geral do Distrito) of Ponta Delgada district, stated that central government knowledge of Azorean realities was limited and that education would help to provide executive and administrative autonomy (Interview, 8 December 1983).

Culturally the 1960s were seen as a very interesting period in the life of the Azores. Father Dr. Hermínio Pontes described it as a time of cultural turmoil (Interview, 9 November 1983). It was also a period of optimism. For some Azoreans the period marked a distinct improvement economically. The middle class emerged with the means of sending their children to universities in Portugal (Gustavo Moura, interview). As in many western European countries, the number of students seeking higher education increased considerably (Marques, 1976). Still, despite economic conditions, the majority of the Azorean youth were unable to pursue advanced studies. Some found jobs in Lisbon and other University cities where they could work and continue their studies part-time. However, many who finished secondary school were left without the possibility of crossing the ocean to further their education.

The Weeks of Studies were referred to as a movement which agitated ideas, though perhaps a little too much in some areas for the quiet socio-political environment of the Azores of those years. They were a time of reflection and growth. Some regretted the sporadic nature of the discussions, the lack of continuity and the lack of institutional support. But the Weeks of Studies showed Azoreans that they had the capacity of expressing their creativity and reflecting on Azorean problems. There was a consistent view that the Azorean problems whether they be cultural, economic or political, had to resolved by Azoreans themselves and not by other powers. The Azoreans had to govern themselves and find the solutions for their problems within the traditional culture of Portugal. Azorean society obstinately insisted in breaking through social barriers with ideological forces. These forces according to Roberto Carneiro were the intellectual expressions of Azoreans and the means whereby they could give free manifestation of their capacity (Interview).

Born out of the desire to study the Azores in its complexity, the Weeks of Studies had benefited from both the First Azorean Congress and the Azorean Insular Conference. Participants shared the same historical values and cultural objectives, brought to the discussions problems of common interest, and promoted a cultural awareness so that a progressive and normal evolution of Azorean society could be achieved. The dialogue and social contact proposed by the general secretary and leader Prof. José Enes had occurred. Teaching and learning had taken place and the seeds of desire for a better understanding of Azorean life had been disseminated. From these seeds new ideas were born, better knowledge of Azorean reality and potential were spread, and new modes of education were desired, studied and defended.

The Third and Fourth Developmental Plans

In 1969 the Caetano regime introduced the Third Developmental Plan, which succeeded the First (1953-1958), the Second (1959-1964), and the Intermediate Plan (1965-1968). The succession of plans was aimed at progressively increasing the commonweal and standard of living of the Portuguese. The Intermediate Plan was conceived as a global program for the economic development of all Portuguese territory, its major objective being the acceleration of national growth and a more balanced distribution of income. In the Azores, it encouraged to some degree educational activities and research. The Third Developmental Plan was aimed at continuing some of the developments initiated in the Intermediate Plan.

In preparing for the Third Plan, officials in the District of Ponta Delgada informed the Portuguese authorities of the need for experts in agriculture, other technologies and administration, and of the need for continuing education for adults (Faria e Maia et al, 1966). Technical education was mentioned because of its close, visible relationship with economic production. However, when the plan was implemented very little was spent in improving educational physical resources.

The Third Developmental Plan (1969-1973) improved slightly on some of the developments begun in the Intermediate Plan. In the last year of the plan, educational issues were stressed. For the first time specific studies on regional planning were included because of interest in correcting regional disparities. The need to accelerate development in the less favoured regions was an increasing preoccupation of the various government departments.

The Azores was described as a "depressed zone without dynamism and unable to improve its state of economic stagnation." The situation was aggravated "by many circumstances, among them deficiencies in the sectors of transportation, communications, tourism, health, housing and education" (Third Dev. Plan, 2:612). The plan saw intervention as necessary and urgent. Among the regional policy measures to overcome deficiencies, those related to education suggested gradual increase of the number of primary schools, the creation of secondary institutions, the opening of agricultural centres, continuing education related to the main industries of the islands, and the installment of technical education institutions. As part of the Third Developmental Plan, the Azores were well studied and education was studied in depth but very little was done.

When the Fourth Developmental Plan was published for the years 1974 to 1979, particular emphasis was placed on education and the requirements for improved opportunity of access. Members of the Azorean planning commissions felt that, because of insularity, in fairness, the cost of Azorean development could not be paid by the islands alone (Comissão de Planeamento dos Açores, 1972). They requested the creation of a polytechnical institute to support industrial and commercial development as well as a college of education.

Lagoa Lectures

The lectures promoted during the seventies by the "Circle of Friends of Lagoa" were viewed as another influential cultural event, not highly diffused or published. Because of their character, they had a different sort of impact from that of the Weeks of Studies.

During the late sixties, a renovation Christian movement originated in Spain, Known as Christianity Courses (Cursos de Cristandade -- three days of closed in immersion of a group of about fifty invited people), spread to the Azores, initiated mainly by the two leaders of the Weeks of Studies: José Enes and Cunha de Oliveira. Those groups met weekly thereafter with all those members who had already gone to the "curso" (cursistas), and little by little the growing consciousness in the Church circles with social and political issues provoked a greater social awareness among the members, particularly in the island of Terceira and São Miguel. The spirit of the renovators and now socially minded Christians acted as a ferment of a variety of activities aiming at consciousness raising. One of them was precisely the series of lectures known as Lagoa lectures. The leader, Jorge Amaral Borges, worked silently behind the scenes. He had the courage to deal with sensitive issues, and invited speakers to present these controversial topics. In an era of continued monolithic control, these cultural activities were recalled by Melo Bento as "an oasis of intellectual freedom" (Interview).

Beginning in October 1970, the Circle of Friends of Lagoa, a group of concerned intellectuals, under the direction of Borges, promoted and organized 88 lectures in the small town of Lagoa on the island of São Miguel. The lectures held from October to May during the years of 1970 to 1975, were sporadically monitored by the political police. They did not however, directly interfere.

Topics included religion, morality, society, economy, culture, history and administration. Their objectives were to promote cultural, moral and social development, to study problems affecting their borough, and to try to solve the economic problems of the less favoured.

Although distinctly different, both the Weeks of Studies and the Circle of Friends of Lagoa lectures raised the awareness of the population in a time of increasing cultural aspirations. Some of the delegates played an important role in the dissemination and promotion of social ideas. A few were to occupy distinguished positions in the cultural and political life of continental Portugal and the Azores.[15]

Conferences of Aveiro and Tomar

With Prime Minister Salazar's death in 1968, his successor announced elections in 1969. New horizons seemed to open with the "liberalization" proposed by the new Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano.

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[15] J. B. Mota Amaral is, at the time of writing, the President of the Regional Government of the Azores. A. Monjardino, was President of the Regional Assembly of the Azores. Jaime Gama, is the Minister of External Affairs in continental Portugal. They are Azoreans who were involved in topics at the Lagoa conferences dealing with administration, policy, and politics.

Nevertheless, the opposition movement's struggle continued. In order to maintain its activitiy, the opposition movement in the Azores, consisting mainly of professionals, intellectuals and religious adherents legally founded a small cooperative society by the name of "Sextant". The Sextant, a cultural society for socializing and organizing conferences, attained a certain level of publicity, but together with identical cooperatives at the national level, was abolished by law 520/71.

The abolition of the cooperatives did not end the opposition movement's efforts. One of two major conventions which took place in continental Portugal in 1973 was promoted by the opposition movement and its party, the MDPD. It was held in April in the city of Aveiro. The second, in May, in the city of Tomar was supported by the ANP, the party of the government. Delegates from the Azores attended both.

The opposition congress in Aveiro denounced the deficiencies of the educational system, the poverty of publishers, distributors and book sellers, the subordination of the mass media to economic forces, and the underfunding of the museums and libraries. The Azorean delegates criticized the institutes of culture because of their emphasis on history which did not contribute towards the advancement of the Azorean society. At the convention comparisons were drawn between the rich cultural life of the archipelago up to the First World War, and life under the

Salazar regime which developed big industries and accelerated capitalism, while impoverishing the agriculture sector, and ignoring civic and cultural standards. Deficiencies in education related to the quantity and quality of teachers, the shortage of schools and instructional materials, and the lack of opportunities for continuing education. The Aveiro conference ended with the following declaration:

> In a country or region, when the people are subjected to a rigid monolithic system, where the values and cultural institutions are made to serve, to control and to reinforce that monolithism, cultural standards deteriorate, weaken and reduce mankind to merely vegetables (Barbosa, 1978:131).

A communication entitled "Azorean Problems Within Insularity" was presented by the delegates of the ANP of the District of Ponta Delgada in the city of Tomar in May 1973. After a brief historical review of the effects of isolation and insularity, the delegates pointed out the Azoreans' contribution to Portugal's prosperity and influence in the world. At the time of the congress, the Fourth Developmental Plan had been completed and attention was called to government to consider the proposed strategies for regional development (Ts-F.C.C.#36985). In regards to education, the delegates asked for opportunities at various levels including pre-University education. It was suggested that Azorean students planning to attend Portuguese universities be given the same assistance as students from the colonies and from continental Portugal, and that incentives be offered to induce them to return to the Azores upon completing their studies.[14]

Six months after the Aveiro and Tomar conventions, new elections took place for members of the National Assembly. This was a time of intense political activity in the Azores for both the ANP and the democratic opposition. The ANP nominated new candidates for the National Assembly. The democratic opposition worked to maintain their achievements of the 1969 campaign and proposed a new commission to discuss a declaration of principles for a democratic movement in Ponta Delgada. Their efforts were blocked by the office of the Civil Governor. Following the elections, in an emotional and yet rational discourse at the National Assembly, A. Monjardino, an elected member of the ANP of Angra described the use of the American airbase on that island and its importance for Portugal and the world. He contrasted the standards of life enjoyed by the Americans with their cars, hospitals, libraries, schools, swimming pools, clubs and a college, to the impoverished conditions of the islanders living next door. He observed that Azoreans carried buckets of water on their bloodied backs, while airplanes flew overhead filled with jet fuel destined for Israel.

In spite of the benefit of employment enjoyed by some of the islanders, there were no contracts between Portugal and the United States for promoting development of the region. The ANP member spoke of these negative and humiliating circumstances and proposed immediate negotiations between Portugal and the USA to promote development of the Azores.[17] Monjardino also referred to the Fourth Developmental Plan which included strategies for the promotion of the archipelago. Monjardino (1973) pointed out that the interests and needs of the region, together with those of the nation, should not be ignored.

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[14] Students from the African colonies attending Portuguese universities had more financial help than those of the Azores (Miller Guerra, 1970).

The more liberal and short lived National Assembly was open until April, 1974. On April 25, 1974 because of a lack of a quorum it was dismissed two minutes after the daily opening.

Veiga Simão Reform

The need for higher education was perceived, and expressed within the broader aspirations of the Azorean people for administrative and political autonomy. The fulfillment of this need, however, was continuously obstructed. Within the opposition movements in the late sixties and early seventies, educational interests were expressed. Between 1970 and 1974, the regional representatives at the National Assembly were outspoken advocates of educational reform. They utilized the studies done by the planning commission of the Azores and were influenced by the educational reforms introduced to the

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[17] Extracts of his speech were omitted in the records (Diário das Sessões) in the National Assembly and later published in Comércio do Funchal, Madeira,#2229, December 6 to 12, 1973 (Um grupo de Estudantes Açoreanos, 1977).

National Assembly by Veiga Simão.

In 1970 Prime Minister Marcello Caetano invited Veiga Simão to become minister of education. Soon after his appointment, the former rector of the University of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique, visited many places in continental Portugal, the African territories and the adjacent islands, including the Azores. In his frank and open speeches, unusual for politicians of the time, he proposed three main themes: participation, development and democratization of education. He consulted with his audiences, determining their views about modernizing educational services and providing access to education by all.

Relative to University education, Veiga Simão proposed that higher education should reflect regional conditions. He rejected the notion that all University education should be the same, stating that "only deformed vision led to the conclusion that Univeristy education had to be rigorously identical" (1973:44). He appealed to his audiences to recognize that the existing universities were not equipped to answer the needs of the time which "demanded rapid solutions and enough flexibility to adapt to continuous change and improvements" (1973:16).

Because of the turbulent atmosphere of the universities during the late sixties, Veiga Simão asked professors and students to work in peaceful coexistence, respecting the ideological views of each other. Simão felt that reform would demand support and an atmosphere of trust. Also, he defended the fundamental principle of democratization of education, so that any student could "occupy a place which he deserved in society, depending exclusively on his intellectual capacity and not conditioned by economic and social factors" (1973:44).

The minister offered two documents for study by the nation: the Educational Project Reform and the General Outline of Higher Education Reform. He asked for an "open and honest dialogue" saying he would accept the advice of all Portuguese , regardless of their political leanings. His proposals included expansion, individualization and diversification of education, coherence in access to successive degrees, and integration and flexibility in secondary and post-secondary education.

In the archipelago, conferences and debates were organized to discuss the proposals. Delegates were selected by the Office of the Civil Governor because of their expertise in education. They were asked to give suggestions on the merits and deficiencies of the reforms. In addition, since some areas of the reforms concerned polytechnical education, members of the community outside the educational system were asked to express their opinions. In this group were representatives of engineering, agriculture, health and welfare. Positive feedback was given to the Office of the Civil Governor which sent a report to the Ministry of Education.

A report, dated April 28, 1971, based on input from the District of Ponta Delgada, ended with a petition for the creation of a college of education to train teachers and for the formation of a polytechnical institute to prepare agricultural, industrial and administrative technicians. Since there was no answer, on June 30 of the same year, the district secretariat, headed by Dr. Augusto Branco Camacho, refined the report explaining and justifying the proposals and elaborating on the need and urgency for a college of education and a polytechnical institute. Three divisions were suggested for the polytechnical institute: agriculture and animal production, administration, and auxiliary engineering. Financial, faculty, and facility needs were listed. Finally, a third report was sent by the secretariat to the minister, confirming the petitions requested in April and June, and asking for grants and other benefits for private education institutions, sports facilities, and student lodging. Autonomy was requested for the existing normal school, which trained teachers for elementary education under the direction of the Ministry of Education.

The minister came to the islands and listened to the people's requests. The secretariat of Ponta Delgada urged the creation of both institutions, reiterating the needs and aspirations of the islands.

Veiga Simão's proposals for overhauling the educational system were submitted to the National Assembly and approved. On August 11, 1973, Law 402/73 created three new universities, one University institute, six polytechnical institutes, nine colleges of education and upgraded four technical schools to polytechnical institutes. Ponta Delgada was designated as a location for one college of education, but not for a polytechnical institute.

Melo Bento (interview) described the sentiment of some Azoreans at the time of the creation of the college of education. "Officially they (the central government) created a college of education, but among us behind the scenes the word at the time was University." These Azoreans saw the creation of the college of education as a great victory for the Azores. They viewed the creation of a University only one step away. It was a higher aspiration for them.

A number of factors contributed to the creation of the college of education. One was the increasing need for higher education; another was the efforts of the secretariat of Ponta Delgada combined with those of Azoreans in the central government; and finally there was the spirit of autonomy and need for regional development expressed through the years.

In the seventies, the increasing need for higher education forced the Central Government to consider regionalization and diversification of educational institutions. Expansion in the mainland had extended to the archipelago. The four universities in Portugal (three classical and one technical) could not enroll all students who sought higher education.

In the Azores, the untiring efforts of the secretariat of Ponta Delgada which continued to petition the Ministry of Education, even when there seemed to be no one listening, had a great effect in establishing the college. In addition, the presence in the Central Government of an Azorean, Dr. Augusto Ataíde who was secretary to the Minister of Education, and some educational planners who favoured such a decision were positive contributing factors. Prof. A. Réfega (Interview, 29 August 1983) expressed his belief in the political influence of these people, by stating: "The desires for higher education had a long history and were a dream of many people. The decision to create the college of education became possible partially because of their influence."

Previous efforts expressed through the spirit of autonomy and desire for regional development reached a climax during the years 1970 to 1974. This perceived need for autonomy and development was a driving force behind the creation of a college of education and the desire for a polytechnical intitute. As Vaz do Rego (interview) stated, they saw these institutions as bringing considerable improvement to the "economic conditions, cultural aspirations, and political aims" of the Azores.

The administrative group of the general junta of the district of Ponta Delgada continued to be active in planning the establishment of the college of education. They arranged the purchase of a family estate for the site of the college and one student residence (Correio dos Açores, 2 August 1973). The property became part of the University grounds in 1976 to the pleasure of Vaz do Rego and other members of the general junta (Interview).

Education Minister Veiga Simão visited the Azores in April 1974 to install the commission to begin work on the college of education (Correio dos Açores, 21 April 1974). He was received royally and the civic honour of the "medallion of the city" was bestowed upon him (Correio dos Açores, 2 February 1974; 20 April 1974). The Bishop of Angra and of the Azores (Interview, 13 January 1984) who was complimented by the minister because of the Church's involvement in the cultural achievements of the archipelago, said there was good reason for so much happiness "because to have an institution of such status at a time when very little had been happening in the field of higher education was a great victory."

A few days after the visit of Veiga Simão to the Azores in April 1974, the Caetano government fell in a military coup. The college of education was created only to be suspended after the military coup through the ministerial directive 24/74 of August 31st. This decision was poorly received and criticized by the Azorean community. The daily newspaper, Correio dos Açores (6, 10, 18, 21 September 1974), reported feelings of discontentment and the revival of old frustrations.

Summary

Though the Weeks of Azorean Studies were held only five times during the first part of the 1960s, they provided the momentum as well as the membership for the planning commissions which followed later in the decade. These planning commissions gave input into the government's Third and Fourth Developmental Plans. Of less importance were the Lagoa lectures of 1970 to 1975. Each helped increase the awareness of the population's needs and aspirations. Similarly two major conventions held in Aveiro and Tomar in continental Portugal in 1973 permitted Azorean delegates to express the concerns of the islanders. As a culmination of these activities, Minister of Education Veiga Simão introduced reforms, though short lived, which strengthened Azorean desires for a higher education institution.

Chapter VII

EMERGENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY

This chapter describes the events beginning with the military coup on April 25, 1974 which led to the creation of the University on January 9, 1976. The first section of the chapter deals with the political agitation which followed the fall of the dictatorship and eventually ended in a protest demonstration in the Azores on June 6, 1975. The second section shows how the Regional Junta used the idea of a University as a means of defusing the frustrations of Azoreans and keeping the islands as part of Portugal. The third section describes the planning required for the creation of the University.

A. The Critical Year

On April 25, 1974, the military coup ended the dictatorship in Portugal. On the day after the revolution, the new government announced three objectives to the country: to democratize, to decolonize, and to develop. Known as the three D's, they became the slogan of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA). Hope abounded. Overnight the military coup had snatched Portugal from ultra-conservatism, lethargy and isolationism. It freed the country from a government which obstinately resisted change and from the agony of the colonial wars.

Because of the 25th of April 1974, the national attitude changed. The fall of the authoritarian regime was succeeded by a sea of foolishness, small revolutions, pseudo revolutions, and the collapse of the ferric pre-revolutionary government bureaucracy. Portugal lapsed into a state of anarchy. In the Azores the chaos was used efficiently by those who felt a sense of opportunity. Consequently, according to Monjardino "instead of destruction, new things were built, among them a University." He saw the desire to create a University expressed right after the coup which took the form of demands in 1975 (Interview, 2 May 1984). Though they were not exclusively responsible, the events of the revolution seemed to prepare the conditions for the creation of the University. The idea of a University seemed connected to the desires for autonomy in the archipelago, and related to the separatist tendencies which developed from democratization and as a consequence of the events and situations of June 6, 1975. Although not expressed, deep down people were reasoning in terms of "an Azorean nation" as opposed to "an Azorean region" and within this context a "University" (Emiliano Carneiro, interview)

In the month following the military coup, the "First of May" was celebrated throughout the archipelago. At that time, the Democratic Movement of Ponta Delgada (MDPD) officially opened its headquarters demanding a new Civil

Governor and the removal of the local authorities. The MDPD began gathering documentation and information about the work forces in order to promote their unions.

Early in May, Mota Amaral, a representative and ex-member of the National Popular Action Party (ANP) for the District of Ponta Delgada was interviewed by an Azorean newspaper, Diário dos Açores. From the interview, the newspaper published an article entitled "In Favour of a Democratic Regime" (7 May 1976). Shortly after, another local newspaper announced the founding of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). Mota Amaral who had served in the National Assembly as representative of the district of Ponta Delgada and was well known to the founder of the PPD in Lisbon, started a branch of the PPD in Ponta Delgada. This delegation temporarily adopted the designation of Azorean Popular Democratic Party (PPDA).

On the 7th of May, a public document announced the Self-Determination Movement of the Azorean People (MAPA). Introduced for consideration by the Azoreans, this document contained twenty general strategies. Number fourteen referred to education and announced the determination of the MAPA to pursue the program instituted by the Minister Veiga Simão without eliminating the possibility of the creation of a true Azorean University (Um Grupo de Estudantes Açoreanos, 1977). One month later, on June 6th, the daily newspaper Correio dos Açores, printed an anonymous separatist manifesto entitled MAPA. The manifesto called attention to the national events, to self determination of the African colonies, to the ever forgotten and abandoned islands and to the developing political preoccupations in the Azores (Correio dos Açores, 6 June 1974). The old aspirations for regional autonomy were succeeded by a new desire -- independence.

Because of the separatist movement, the relations between Portugal and the Azores deteriorated. Estrêla Rego described their relationship in the following way. "It was like two people talking. One turned to the West (the Azoreans) and the other to the East (the Portuguese) (Interview). Like two individuals gazing in different directions, they only rarely engaged in dialogue.

The political life of the archipelago, especially in the large populated centers, grew intense. Rivalries existed between the MDPD and the PPDA. As a result of this political struggle, a member of the MDPD, who had lost the 1973 election to an ANP candidate was invested as Civil Governor of Ponta Delgada in 1974. His nomination occurred during the Second Provisional Government, a leftist dominant period known as Gonçalvism, which succeeded the first military government after the coup.[18]

After a period of no publicity, the MAPA manifesto was published for the third time in August in a communication using moderate and conciliatory wording. The declaration, signed by three of the MAPA members, combined a desire for maintaining Azorean ancestral traditions with requests for the continuation of education and Lusitanian culture, the traditional judicial system, defense and social security. Moreover, the communiqué appealed for means of shortening the distance between Portuguese communities and suggested that the cost of insularity be supported by Portugal (Barbosa, 1978).

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[18] The Second Provisional Government after the military coup was invested in July 1974. Colonel Vasco Gonçalves (Gonçalvism) was Premier in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th provisional governments which were communist-military regimes.

In the meantime, the Liberation Front of the Azores (FLA) which included involvement by American and Canadian Azorean communities appeared. It took a more radical stance. The movement's newspaper, "O Milhafre" led attempts to make the United Nations intervene in providing Azorean independence. The FLA movement attacked the Portuguese government which in turn declared it an enemy of communist doctrines.

Political activity increased in the archipelago. Following the pattern of the PPD, other political parties, formed firstly in continental Portugal, found representation in the Azores: the Socialist Party (PS), the Communist Party (PC), the Christian Democratic Party (CDS) and various leftist and rightist groups with little support and consequently of short duration.

In continental Portugal the first President of the Republic after the coup, General Spínola, fought obstinately to control the momentum of the revolution to the left, but was unsuccessful. He resigned in September 1974. A new President, General Costa Gomes, was invested accepting Vasco Gonçalves as Prime Minister. The swing to the left continued and was viewed with great concern in the Azores. The new opportunities for political expression heightened the desire for independence in the Azores. The MAPA republished its manifestos, while other parties stepped up their own propaganda. From September to December 1974, violence between the political parties occurred in the Azores. The residents of the archipelago lived in an atmosphere of great tension, with political parties actively involved in propaganda sessions, and occasional skirmishes in the streets.

In January 1975, the Military Governor of the Azores was replaced by General Altino Magalhães. More violence occurred as parties tried to stop each other's propaganda sessions. The two separatist movements, the MAPA and the FLA, increased their aggressive activities, endangering the peace and security of the archipelago (Barbosa, 1978).

The government announced elections for the Assembly and a referendum for the new Portuguese constitution to be heldon the 25th of April 1975, one year after the coup. Political activity in the archipelago became even more intense. During the election campaign, autonomy and independence were major themes. In order to make autonomy rather than separatism the main issue, at a news conference in November 1974, the Minister of Internal Administration announced the revision of the Autonomous Statute for the Azores. As a result political parties and special commissions worked in Angra to produce the Provisional Statute of the Autonomous Region of the Azores.

In March 1975, the communist-military regime introduced land reforms, nationalized businesses, and amalgamated unions. New turbulence resulted, leading to the formation of the Revolutionary Council in Lisbon, which introduced restrictive measures including controls over the media and closure of the universities. The latter action was necessitated by the actions of student activists who, while fighting with each other, had destroyed University buildings and furniture. They overthrew the administration and assumed control. In the anarchy that followed, some students were given credit for courses without going to classes or completing basic requirements. Others were given credit for full programs of study. The new regime even installed non-qualified teachers of their own persuasion, thereby politicizing higher education (Cardia, 1977). After some civic order had been restored, the institutions became over crowded and unable to cope with the increased student enrollment.[11] Academic life at the time was chaotic. Parents who could afford to do so sent their children to foreign universities especially in the USA and Canada.

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[11] Until 1974, admission to the universities was determined by scores on entrance examinations. In 1974 however, because of the greater number of students seeking higher education, entrance examinations were not offered and there were no new admissions to the universities.

According to Dr. Estrêla Rego, many Azorean parents concerned about the problems at Portuguese universities began to support the establishment of an institution of higher education in the Azores so they could avoid sending their children to mainland Portugal (Interview).

During this period, to alleviate enrollment pressures, the government established the "Student Civic Service" which required students to work in community projects for a year. Following the year of service they would be admitted to the universities. Then, because some students were admitted without having served in the service, the program was abandoned in 1977. At that time, quotas were established to control student enrollment in areas of high interest (such as medicine and psychology). It was later applied to other disciplines and is still in existence in 1985. The "Student Civic Service" project and the concept of the "Propaedeutic Year" (preparation for University) were transitory holding mechanisms imposed as a result of scarce University facilities.

On the 25th of April 1975, national elections took place in Portugal. Whereas on the mainland the socialist party won a majority, in the Azores it was the popular democratic party, with five seats, the socialist party obtaining only one seat. In spite of the elections, the communist-military leadership continued to maintain power and exercised control over the country's bureaucrats, making appointments and directing day-to-day affairs. They did not permit the Constitutional Assembly to sit.

The communist-military domination, the national instability and drastic economic and social reforms heightened anxiety in the Azores. On the sixth of June 1975 a popular protest demostration brought many farmers to the city of Ponta Delgada to demand reforms. There had been previous threats from the agricultural sector and small demonstrations had taken place in front of the Civil Governor's palace (Correio dos Açores, 6, 7 June 1975; Açores, 6 June 1975).

In great numbers, farmers and businessmen paraded down the streets of the city of Ponta Delgada and gathered in front of the palace. There they made demands, shouted for independence and asked for the removal of the Civil Governor. Following negotiations with the Military Governor of the Azores, the Civil Governor was relieved of his duties. Some associates of the ex-Civil Governor after living for days in terror, demanded protection from the police and the army. More than thirty people, accused of acts of terrorism carried out under the aegis of the FLA, were arrested and held for a period of two weeks in Angra (Barbosa, 1978). The sixth of June, 1975 marked the beginning of a time of social and political instability never before experienced in almost five centuries of Azorean existence. The protests gained the support of many groups in the Azores, in continental Portugal and in foreign countries. They activated and accentuated the separatist movement. In Fall River, Massachusetts, American and Canadian Azorean immigrants created the "Azorean Commité 1975" to support the fight for liberty and democracy in the Azores. A group in California, speaking for a "Democratic Azorean Republic," made their wishes known in Washington (Um Grupo de Estudantes Açoreanos, 1977).

Protest demonstrations in continental Portugal which followed the sixth of June, created a climate of resistance towards the communists. During what was referred to as the "hot summer", the Portuguese expressed their dissatisfaction through fires, barricades and demonstrations. The threat against the communist regime climaxed on November 25, 1975 when a group of military personnel and politicians, which took on the name "the 25 of November", forced the communist regime to accept the authority of the Constitutional Assembly. A prominent figure in the movement was General Ramalho Eanes, the President of the Republic today.

Because of the sixth of June protests, the Central Government started to pay more attention to Azorean' aspirations. Although some of these aspirations had been expressed through the MAPA prior to the demonstrations, the events in June culminated in an intense crescendo, which obviously could not be ignored. At that time the FLA was very active. The Azorean government, as well as some officials in Lisbon, were concerned that disruptions would occur and that a declaration of unilateral independence would be made.

A national newspaper, contending that the FLA was providing leadership for the separatist movement, wrote of the FLA's claim that separatism was the best means of counter revolution (Diário de Notícias, 31 March 1975). The separatist movement increased in strength. Partly because the April revolution brought freedom of expression, Azorean independence was now openly discussed.

Though the Central Government was in favour of autonomy, it could not support separatism for the Azores. In a tour to the Madeira and Azores archipelagos, General Ramalho Eanes supported autonomy by claiming that "each region could maintain its personality within a unified nation." According to the General, because of the truly perfect Lusitanian identity of the archipelago, separatism was unsuitable. The army would be vigilant, he said, in maintaining unity (Expresso, 29 May 1976).

Within this turbulent climate, the Portuguese government passed laws 458-B/75 and 100/76 in August 1975 and September 1976 respectively. These laws created, through a Regional Junta, the conditions for true autonomy in the archipelago. It made the Military Governor President of the Regional Junta and made elected members of the Popular Democratic Party and Socialist Party responsible for the six Secretaries which formed the Regional Junta. One of the primary goals of the Regional junta in the realm of education was to enlarge the cultural and educational horizons of the Azores; a strategy was to be elaborated through the Secretary for Education, Research, Culture and Social Communication (Vasconcellos e Coutinho, 1976).

For more than a year, between March 1975 and April 1976, at political party meetings and in study commissions, political pressures were applied to gain approval of the Provisory Statute for the Autonomous Region of the Azores.[28] On April 15, 1975 the commission in charge of the analysis of the statute had submitted its conclusions to the President of the Republic, General Costa Gomes. Almost a year later, on April 13, 1976, the Council of Ministers approved the proposals through the passing of law 318-B/76. This law culminated with a constitutional definition of the Azores as an autonomous region of Portugal. It provided for a Regional Assembly, a Regional Government and a representative of the Portuguese Republic in the Azores. Despite the passage of the law, the FLA continued its demands for independence and the President of the Regional Junta became more and more concerned (O Milhafre, 25 January 1977).

International concern was voiced about problems facing the Azoreans. Senator Brook of the USA stated that his country and others should provide unilateral help to the people of the Azores. Congresswoman Heckler, also from the USA, demanded respect and protection for the interests and rights of the Azoreans (O Milhafre, 9 May 1977). Evetts

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[28] The commission was formed by Brigadier Sousa Meneses, Prof. Vitorino Nemésio, Prof. Mota Pinto, and Drs. Galvão Telles, Álvaro Monjardino and João Salgueiro amongst others (Um Grupo de Estudantes Açoreanos, 1977).

Haley, in an article included in the USA Congressional Record described the relations between the "conservative Azoreans and their politically wanton mother country" (Congressional Record, 25 May 1978). He elaborated on the vital importance of the Azores to the defense of the Western World by pointing out the value of the American base at Terceira and its potential surveillance by the Soviets. Haley recalled the failure of the USA to recognize the Azorean rights for freedom and independence. He spoke of other international powers interested in the Azores and stated that, in view of Portugal's imminent collapse, the impending rebellion of the Azores offered the USA an opportunity for real statemanship. Mr. Haley, cited General D. Graham who had said that the "Azores are the most important contribution of Portugal to NATO." In any reinforcement of Europe or the Mediterranean area, the Azores are critical" (Congressional Record, 25 May 1978).

Immediately following the revolution, the government planned to restructure the system of higher education. During the first post-revolutionary year, the government published the basis for a higher education policy. This publication described government concerns regarding the education problems that had been experienced that year. It also recognized the efforts of the previous regime in the early seventies towards a new developmental philosophy and the establishment of networks for new institutions of higher education (MEIC, 1975).

The inherited problems were complex and some were aggravated by the new political regime. The UNESCO commission, which studied the Portuguese education system in 1975, described higher education in the following way:

> Until now, post-secondary education was considered a means of social advancement. A University degree, regardless of its nature, permitted one to obtain a favourable social position. Within this context, the quality of education received in a specialization and its adaptation to reality were secondary. Therefore, few incentives existed to motivate people to fight against academism in teaching, the neglect of education in favour of theoretical research intended to satisfy the curiosity or personal ambition of the tenured professor, and the formal character of internships in industry and of examinations. The efforts of some to get out of such a situation had a very limited effect (UNESCO, 1975).

Resources were limited, and there was a need for a redefinition of the higher education system in the light of national and regional objectives. Curricula required review so that they would assist in social and economic development and consider institutional, pedagogical, social, cultural and economic issues. Some of the data needed for conceptualization, planning strategies, and materialization of objectives were derived from studies done in preceding years. These data would contribute to the decisions to establish new networks in the form of higher education centres.

Eager to provide the nation with new strategies for higher education, in 1974 the Portuguese government created, within the Ministry of Education and Research, the Secretary of State for Higher Education and Research. This Secretary developed a plan to restructure the system of higher education. University rectors, other representatives of higher education institutions, professional organizations, groups of students and teachers, all contributed to the research plan (MEIC,1975). The findings of the group appear in law 363/75. Though the law was not implemented because of the change of government it set the mood for changes in the educational system which were to follow.

The period from April 1974 to June 1975 was a critical time for Portugal and the Azores. The military coup which ended the Portuguese dictatorship fostered an atmosphere of democracy and free expression in which autonomy and independence were debated in the Azores. Azorean opposition to reforms by the communist-military regime were manifested in the protests of June 1975. The spread of these protests to continental Portugal led an eventual change in government, and a favourable situation for the establishment of the University of the Azores. Efforts to expand higher education in the Azores were blocked during the dictatorship while the revolutionary climate was open to all adventures, including opening a new University.

B. Running Against Time

After the military coup, the Minister of Education and Culture of the First Provisional Government closed the newly-established colleges of education in Portugal. According to his government, there was a need to transform the old educational structures to reflect new democratic realities.[21] With that decision, the Azoreans saw their hopes for an institution of higher education destroyed, their aspirations suppressed and their long held interests banned. Their dreams for promotion and development were shattered.

The MAPA had released a declaration on June 6, 1974, which included retention of the College of Education without setting aside the possibility of creating a true Azorean University (Diário dos Açores, 6 June 1974).

Aware of the post-revolution problems encountered by their children who were attending universities in Portugal, a small group of Azoreans, led by by Dr. Estrêla Rego, began to explore alternative structures (i.e. open University, private University) which would further higher education in the Azores. According to Rego, a number of Azoreans and Azorean descendents living in the USA and Canada could also benefit from a University in the Azores through an exchange program. The group discussed potential resources, curricula, and credit arrangements. They saw that a univerity in the Azores would solve the problems of distance and the high cost encountered by Azoreans enrolled in Portuguese universities. It would also resolve some of the problems associated with centralization in the education system which gave too much control to the Portuguese "Napoleonic" style universities.

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[21] The colleges of education were closed temporarily and the commissions in charge of establishing them were relieved of this responsibility by Ministerial Directive 24/74 of August 31th. Later, law 513-T/1979, paragraph 23, nullified the earlier law 402/73 creating the colleges of education.

In August 1975 this group approached Prof. Norman Bailey, an economist and political advisor from the USA, temporarily based in the Azores, asking him to explore the possibily of establishing a new University with linkages to the USA and other nations (Correspondence of Prof. Bailey to Mr. Cordovil, 16 October 1975). They also established a set of guidelines to develop the desired University programs. According to Dr. Rego the purpose of the program was: (1) to contribute to Azorean community services and improvement of life in the Azores, (2) to provide stimuli to present and future institutions considering cultural, scientific and technological dimensions, (3) to cultivate Portuguese and European cultures, and (4) to create a bilingual University which would parallel American and other nations' programs. Dr. Rego also expressed the desire for an Azorean-American foundation to support the legal aspects associated with the establishment of a University having linkages in Portugal, the USA and other nations. It was agreed that these principles and aspirations would be unachievable if negotiated through Lisbon (Correspondence of Dr. Rego to Prof. Bailey, 2 November 1975; Dr. Rego interview). Dr. Rego and his supporters had a Christian-democratic orientation which opposed the communist-military ideology of the Portuguese government. It was only natural then, that the group considered the possibility of a connection between a Catholic University and its American counterparts. Group members approached the Bishop of the Azores. He introduced them to a prominent Jesuit, Father Fragata who was cautiously interested in the proposal (Dr. Rego and Bishop of Angra interviews).

Father Fragata proposed several alternative approaches which the Bishop supported. At the Father's request the Bishop assessed the views of the archipelago clergy. He took the matter to the Presbyterial Council in September 1975 and obtained their full support. The Bishop, aware of the social and cultural deterioration in Portugal which resulted in families refusing to send their children to the mainland, saw a University as "the opportunity to preserve human and Christian values in the archipelago." His desire to create a new or extend the existing Catholic University of Lisbon led to a meeting with the Patriarch of Lisbon, who was also the Chancellor of the Catholic University of Lisbon, and with the Papal Nuncio in Portugal. Both gave their full support to the venture (Bishop of Angra, interview). The group also benefited from an interested and tenacious individual, Dr. Ricardo Ferreira, who among others had been officially appointed to the commission in charge of establishing the now defunct College of Education. He was invited to private meetings with supporters to discuss the idea of starting a University. All these events took place between June and early October 1975.

After private contacts with the Church and other highly committed individuals, the group, led by Rego, started to talk publicly about their plans for a University. The Regional Junta, concerned about what was happening, took on the project to establish the University. According to Ferreira, the Regional Junta realized that within a political climate supporting separation, the creation of a University as a training ground for political leaders posed a serious threat to Lisbon (Interview, 12 March 1984). The potential creation of a University, influenced by the Church and supporters of independence pressured the Regional Junta to expedite the development of a state University which had the support of the majority of the population. Had it not been for Dr. Rego's group, the Regional Junta would not have acted (Ferreira, interview). In establishing the University, General Altino Magalhães, the President of the Regional Junta and Military Governor, was able to reconcile the separatist spirit of the conservative Azores with the revolutionary spirit of the communist regime in Lisbon. While some Azorean demands were adjusted by the General, others were sent to Lisbon where the threat of separatism was used to negotiate the Azorean objectives (Gustavo de Moura, interview).

General Magalhães and his counsellors met privately to decide on a potential candidate to head the committee for the establishment of the University. They decided on Prof. Enes, the leader of the Weeks of Studies. The Junta approved the appointment of Prof. Enes who was then contacted by the General. Prof. Enes gladly accepted the appointment and returned immediately to the Azores from the mainland. The General, after a short conversation with Prof. Enes, felt confident that he was capable of developing such an initiative (General Altino Magalhães interview, 10 April 1984).

Following his experience as the leader of the Weeks of Studies, Prof. Enes had participated in the regional development commissions. He had participated in the planning of the Catholic University and was director of the Department of Philosophy and vice rector of the University. He had been a professor at the University of Luanda (Angola) and was working towards the establishment of the Polytechnical Institute of Covilhã in mainland Portugal when he was invited, in September of 1975, to develop the preliminary work for the foundation of the University of the Azores.

Given the support of the Regional Junta and the terms of reference, Prof. Enes set out to gather an interested group with which to work. Considering Prof. Enes' Knowledge of the community and the people interested in such an endeavour, this was not a difficult task.

At this point, Dr. Rego's group was told that Prof. Enes had been invited to develop the backgound for the establishment of a University under the aegis of the Regional Junta. Prof. Enes requested information from Dr.

Rego about the progress of the private University group. Prof Enes expressed interest and was informed of the group's objectives and principles which, according to Dr. Rego, Prof. Enes agreed to promote and support. In fact the principles were defended by Prof. Enes. In a local newspaper Enes commented on the geographic position of the Azores and its social and economic obligations to Europe and the New World, suggesting that the University be cast in the role of a community situated between two worlds (Correio dos Açores, 20 November 1975).

According to the President of the Regional Junta, the initial talks about programs favoured a sharing with Portuguese universities. Yet some programs not offered in Portugal would be offered in the Azores. Continental students would come to the Azores to study such curricula and Azoreans would go to the mainland to study in other areas. In the context of a united Portugal, such a relationship would benefit both groups of students (Magalhães, interview).

While appreciating the work of American universities, according to Dr. Victor Forjaz, the academic community did not feel that the Azores should have an American model. European and modern Portuguese models were not favoured either, but an extension of the Portuguese classical University was advocated. Such a model would later develop its own personality, it was felt (Interview, 18 November 1983).

Dr. Rego and Dr. Ferreira, both closely associated with the plans for the private University, continued to work with Prof. Enes and his group. The Jesuits, who perceived the developments made by the Regional Junta as being incompatible with their principles, lost interest.

In early October 1975, the President of the Regional Junta, General Magalhães, telephoned Victor Alves, the Minister of Education in Portugal, requesting permission to announce the creation of an institution of higher education. The Minister referred General Magalhães to the Secretary of State for Higher Education, Prof. António Brotas, who warned him about the difficulties associated with establishing a University in such a short time period. The Secretary of State, because of the complexity of the situation, proposed a University outreach centre for the Azores (Brotas, interview, 10 April 1984). Confronted with the slowness of bureaucratic actions, General Magalhães told Prof. Brotas: "In this case, bypass them. This has to be done" (Magalhães, interview).

General Magalhães realized that anything short of a University would be unsatisfactory to the Azorean community. An outreach centre would not be acceptable to the islands' academic community, nor to the separatist elements. The General explained to Prof. Brotas that the desire for an institution of higher education was an old and strong aspiration for the Azores. Sufficient reasons had been presented to justify the creation of such an institution.

He felt no hesitation in openly warning the Central Government about the problems that could arise if a University wasn't established. "It was our responsibility to put the questions clearly without demands, but with firmness and will" (Magalhães, interview).

Up until his conversation with the President of the Regional Junta, the Secretary of State for Higher Education had not considered an institution of higher education for the Azores, nor was he aware of any requests for a University (Brotas, interview). General Magalhães made arrangements for a meeting between the Secretary of State for Higher Education and spokesmen for the Azorean University group (Açores, 10 and 22 October 1976).

Shortly afterwards, Prof. Brotas was introduced to José Goulart, the Secretary for Education, Culture, Research and Social Communication in the Azores and Prof. Enes. Following a short discussion, Goulart and Prof. Enes expressed their dissatisfaction with the alternative of a University outreach centre for the Azores. They had come to Lisbon to negotiate for something "major" and went on to describe their strategies, objectives and programs. According to the Secretary of State, Goulart and Enes revealed their good sense by demonstrating the need for regional development and by refuting the traditional model of the Portuguese University. They requested programs in agriculture, animal production, teacher education and business administration. After some discussion, Brotas agreed that their objectives were congruent with those of the Ministry of Education and the group decided to call the institution "the Azorean University Institute" (IUA) (Açores, 9 May 1976; Brotas, 1981). The decision might have been a compromise solution for the time being.

As a result of the meeting, the Secretary of State for Higher Education and the Azorean delegates prepared a joint proposal establishing a task force to prepare for the establishment and organization of an institute of higher education in the Azores (Açores, 22 October 1985).[22] The proposal became part of Ministerial Directive 414/75 of October 14, pending future legislation. The directive lists the following priority tasks: (1) the urgent study of legislation to create the Azorean University Institute, (2) the study of local conditions and the elements needed for the establishment of higher education, (3) the development of contacts with other institutions of higher education, and (4) the organization of future cooperation and planning for the first pedagogical tasks. In addition to the members of the Azorean Commission, the Secretary of State for Higher Education designated two other people to sit on the task force. The two additional members -- Prof. Laranjeira, rector of the New University of Lisbon and Mr. Roberto Carneiro, educational planner in the Ministry of Education

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[22] The members of the task force were: Dr. Ricardo Ferreira, Dr. Álvaro Monjardino, Dr. Francisco Carmo, Dr. Carlos de Medeiros and Mr. Eduardo de Moura. Also in the task force were Prof. Manuel Laranjeira and Mr. Roberto Carneiro situated in Lisbon.

-- would coordinate organizational tasks in Lisbon.

The creation of a University had finally been set in motion. Task force members saw several immediate responsibilities: the preparation of legislation, the establishment of organizational goals and plans, and the gathering of external resources. In a matter of a few months since the first meeting of the small group of Azoreans led by Dr. Rego, more had been accomplished than in the many decades before. No University had ever been created in such a short time. The creation of a University in the Azores was running against time, as captured in a quotation by Monjardino, a member of the task force who stated, "It was the right time...we achieve it now or never."

C. The Ministerial Directive 414/75

Laying the foundations for a University is a complex enterprise at best. This task became more complex in the Azores because of the political conditions, aggravated by the lack of experience in the region and other factors like the beginning of regionalization and government decentralization. Planning time was also a detriment. The creation of a University generally takes years, rather than months. All of these conditions bore down on the task force as it worked toward fulfilling the mandate set out in the Ministerial Directive.

The Ministerial Directive 414/75, led to a working agenda for the task force for the establishment and organization of higher education in the Azores. The agenda prepared by the chairman, Prof. Enes, concentrated on the major topics of institutional planning for the creation of the Azorean University Institute (IUA). The agenda included the following areas:

1. Academic planning: types of programs, structures, location of departments, outreach programs and costs.
2. Administrative planning: management structures, supportive bodies and local commission groups.
3. Human and physical resources: faculty needs, scientific and technological supports.
4. Interorganizational relationships: national and foreign universities and international organizations.
5. Organizational flexibility: actual and future needs, program revision and preliminary intensive courses.
6. Commission in charge of installing the IUA: constitution and functions.

In order to complete this agenda, the members of the task force were given specific assignments. In each of the three districts, local commission groups were formed. Prof. Enes prepared a preliminary proposal outlining immediate tasks which committee members were soon busy accomplishing. He followed this first report with a second. Meanwhile meetings were held throughout the archipelago at which interest groups provided input into the planning. Of particular importance was the decision regarding the location of the University. Also, of great importance was the search for resources. Representatives of the three districts, the Chairman (Prof. Enes) and the Secretary (Dr. Frederico de Oliveira)[23] worked on a committee to plan for resources. Members in Lisbon were involved in the urgent study of legislation, so that by the end of October, they relayed legislative proposals to the Secretary of State for Higher Education (Correspondence of Prof. Enes (Chairman) to General Magalhães (President of the Regional Junta), 31 October 1975).

Local Commission Groups

Following the Ministerial Directive 414/75, a Directive 57/75 of November 14 from the Secretary of State for Higher Education established the local commission groups in Ponta Delgada, Angra and Horta to support the task force group. The commissions, of 5-8 members each, were organized for teacher education (intermediate and secondary schools), for business administration and for agriculture, animal production and fisheries technology. The commissions were given the following tasks : (1) to study and collect data on the local conditions and needs, (2) to estimate the number of potential students for each commissioned area, and (3) to conform with the objectives and actions of the task force.

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[23] The need for organization and interpretation of the legal aspects determined the appointment of a lawyer who was the secretary of the task force and later became the first University administrator.

Members of the local commissions were selected from different professional backgrounds and cultural interests. Many had cooperated in previous cultural or planning activities such as the Weeks of Studies and the Regional Planning Commissions. Each one had developed a good relationship with Prof. Enes. One of the commission members, Prof. Francisco Carmo, described his colleagues as "responsible individuals with a positive attitude towards education, good character, and capable of giving suggestions as to what should be in a University" (Interview, 9 February 1984).

The feedback from these groups contributed to the basic strategies of the chairman. Although the local commission groups were only organized on November 15, some reports were finalized by the end of November (e.g. business administration, 24 November 1975) and directed to the task force (Report of the local commission group, 24 November 1975).

Since the task force had representatives in each district, they served as coordinators and messengers to the local commission groups. Ricardo Ferreira, who was responsible for gathering information to answer the questions put by the Ministerial Directive 414/75, recalled the efforts developed by the groups from other districts, who cooperated tenaciously and promptly when data were requested. Due to the poor statistical record systems available in the Azores, this was considered an achievement

(Interview). Also valuable were the statistical data prepared as background for the establishment of the College ofEducation. Reports were forwarded to the task force representativesin Lisbon, who used them for program design (R. Carneiro, interview).

Preliminary and Second Proposals

Meanwhile Prof. Enes prepared a preliminary proposal describing the philosophy, overall goals, resources and immediate tasks. The main goals of the University concerned resources in general with the most immediate aims related to scientific and applied research essential for the economic progress of the Azores. The first programs were to be those for which there were human resources in the archipelago. Teachers had to be adequately prepared for the scientific activities and integrated in the global developmental plan of the Azores. Consideration had to be given to diversification and evolution of the programs and to the development of faculties with departments. Among the first programs would be teacher education, administration and agriculture and animal production. Consideration was also made for the existent nursing programs to be integrated and offered at the polytechnical level. Post graduate and University extension programs were planned.

The preliminary proposal also contained a brief description of research trends in the Azores and a plan to assess prior research, as well as new research needs. A study centre was advocated to support research (i.e. Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Psychology) and other programs. The report considered needs for faculty as well as administrative structures. It reported the names of prospective faculty members who had agreed to join the University. [24] The possibility of contracting professors from both Portuguese and foreign universities for short intensive courses, specifically faculty members from the American University College of Lajes (Terceira) and University of Rhode Island, was considered desirable.

In the early stages, the University would need a lot of support in structural and methodological problem-solving as well as financial assistance. The report suggested that the planning and studies department (GEP) of the Ministry of Education be used as a resource, and the New University of Lisbon serve as a support mechanism because of its research philosophy and post-graduate studies. It supported a relationship with the University of Rhode Island through the International Centre for Marine and Resource Development. Universities (e.g. RIU, and MIT), international organizations (e.g. UNESCO, OECD) and prominent Azoreans working at Portuguese and foreign universities were suggested as developmental agents.

Historical, sociological, technical and political considerations were noted in the preliminary proposal as they related to the location of the University in relationship to its demographic, economic and vocational areas of interest. Consideration was given to the needs of potential students, among them the need for day and night courses and the development of outreach programs.

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[24] These were people with no University teaching experience but known in the arts and sciences.

Immediate and medium term physical facilities were suggested, depending on the final decision regarding the location of the University and its departments. Existing buildings would first be adapted but careful budget forecasts regarding costs of renovation were considered.

In order to start the University in the academic year of 1975-1976, the report listed the following steps: (1) pass legislation for the establishment of the University, (2) appoint a commission to be in charge of establishing the new University, (3) establish the rector's office, (4) contract faculty members for teaching and administration, (5)obtain external resources, (6) form pedagogical planning commissions, (7) solve the problem of physical facilities, and (8) begin building a library or libraries. February 17, 1976 was suggested as opening date for the academic activities so that a full semester could be undertaken.

Soon after the completion of the preliminary report, the New University of Lisbon offered its cooperation. Negotiations began for assistance from some faculties of the Coimbra and Lisbon universities. Task force members contacted teachers working in local high schools and Azoreans teaching at universities on the mainland. Some applicants who had expressed their desires to be part of the teaching staff were hired while others were still being considered (Correspondence of the Chairman to the President of the Regional Junta, 31 October 1975).

While the preliminary proposals prepared by Prof. Enes were being acted upon by the task force and local commission groups, he worked on a second report which presented additional proposals. These proposals also included the feedback from meetings he and the Lisbon representatives held in the three districts (Correspondence of the Chairman with the President of the Regional Junta, 31 October 1975 ; Correio dos Açores, 1 November 1975). After introducing the context of the University, Prof. Enes listed the main objectives and problems. These included academic planning (programs, faculty resources, research, community services), administrative planning (location of programs, government bodies), student services and physical resources (libraries, student facilities). Enes (1976) enunciated a need for more hard data, including in-depth studies of the previous planning.

In his second report Enes (1976) pointed out the need for an overall plan of community service. He proposed "Action, Planning and Research Centres" which would serve the other islands which were distant and humanly and technically poorly equiped. He recognized that an outreach program would pose difficult administrative, technical and economic problems, but felt that the archipelago would be best served by providing programs to all islands.[25] Beyond the programs to be offered as its main functions, plans were worked out for continuing education directed to graduates and the general population. This would be provided through consultant services, applied research, post-graduate programs and short courses.

Those plans were put into affect in May and June 1976 when the University organized on a trial basis outreach courses credited towards the business administration and animal production programs. These classes were organized to prepare students for courses that were to commence in October 1976. An evaluation following completion of the courses suggested deficiencies because of the lack of experience of the organizers, the small number of teachers and poor technical assistance. In spite of these deficiencies, the business administration program continued to benefit from the outreach experience, whereas the outreach courses in the field of animal production were cancelled because of the laboratory requirements (Enes, 1976).

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[25] The organization of an outreach program was, according to an OECD expert, technically and administratively difficult in the Azores. It did not become feasible economically at that time (Personal conversation between the rector of the University of the Azores and the researcher in the Spring of 1980).

The Planning Meetings

Meetings were held in the three districts as part of a careful political strategy to bring together representatives of all interests which in any way would affect the University. Roberto Carneiro described those sessions as "the most important meetings which occurred during the planning. They were turbulent, animated and very rich politically" (Interview). Each meeting was enlivened by rich and polemical discussions regarding the location of the University, the types of programs and their placement. Attempts were made to structure the dynamics of the discussions to favour social innovation. Consequently, from these discussions a model was developed which considered and integrated the aspirations of all participants. Prof. Enes, who chaired the meetings, was aware of the political and cultural flows in the archipelago and tried to consider every group. Almost five centuries of existence under centralized rule had characterized the different ethnic settlements with individual insular idiosyncrasies; isolation and its consequent effects had generated differences which demanded attention.

In addition to the regional planning meetings, the task force was involved in technical planning, related to the institutional, pedagogical and organizational aspects of the University. The rapid sequence of events did not permit technical planning. At a minimum such planning would have required a study of manpower supply and needs in the short term in order to determine the types of programs best able to fit professional and cultural needs. It would have demanded studies of demographic mobility and transportation, population opinion, and organizational interrelationships, as well as priority tasks (Prof. Marçal Grilo interview, 12 April 1984). Some of the information required was available minimally and concentrated on the functioning of the IUA. However, a medium term study had to wait until 1978-1979.

In 1978-1979, a simulation model was developed which included student projections and other economic considerations. Later, another model was developed with input from the Secretary of Education of the Azores which involved educational program needs until 1990 (Roberto Carneiro, interview).

Roberto Carneiro, who headed the planning studies, stated that the time constraints, the heterogenity of the task force and its division between the Azores and Lisbon made the research difficult. Enes (1976) indicated that time limitations and social impositions on the planning were necessary in order to attain the creation of the IUA. The challenge had to be accepted to take advantage of an opportunity in the history of Portugal and the Azores which might not be available again.

During the planning stages the task force sponsored three intensive courses providing background core material for other courses to be taught later in the IUA. Three hundred students were registered who otherwise would have been enrolled in the "Student Civic Service" which was seen as undesirable and as waste of time. As soon as the courses were offered, it became more difficult to stop the University's development. Frederico de Oliveira remarked that "because of the courses, to a certain extent higher education was guaranteed, becoming a political act, which was appreciated in general by the people concerned" (Interview, 8 March 1984).

Location of the University

Throughout Azorean history the location of any public service on any one of the islands was immediately disputed by residents of other islands (Enes, 1976). Though this attitude was not unique to the archipelago (existing also in the mainland), in the Azores case, it was particularly prevalent. Prof. Enes tried to avoid these disputes as much as possible by explaining the IUA project and then listening to the most representative social forces in the three districts (R. Carneiro, interview).

A major concern of Enes (1976) and the task force was to create social conditions by means of the University, which would promote cultural and economic growth. Prof. Enes felt that a University centred in one city would likely be an obstacle, mostly as a consequence of Azorean parochialism.

Three groups existed with three different rationales for locating the University. The first contended that all pedagogical activities should be concentrated on the most populated island -- São Miguel. Members of the group reasoned that this would lower the travelling expenses for students and faculty and be most cost effective. Though aware of the historical and political reasons for dispersion, Prof. Ramiro Dutra was concerned about the difficulties of operation and cost caused by the dispersion of the University among three islands. He felt that Azorean provincialism, which ignored the need for unity in the archipelago, would impede the solution of insular problems (Açores 2 September 1976; Minutes of CI meetings, 9 August 1976).

A second group defended a University divided among three islands because its placement on the most populated island would result inevitably in more unfavorable demographic and economic conditions in the other islands. Political views were taken into consideration as critical elements for decision making. A compromise position was that the University should be located in the most populated island initially but, that allowance be made for subsequent dispersion (Enes, 1976).

Another group thought that the low demand for manpower would not justify a University, and that it was economically more feasible to pay the expenses of the students going to Portuguese universities than to establish a University in the Azores. This group favoured teacher education only to be located in Ponta Delgada.[26]

Prof. Enes informed Prof. Rocha Trindade, who was the General Director for Higher Education from November 1975 to August 1976, of the technical and political problems. It was clear to Prof. Trindade that the IUA had to be divided in three campuses. That decision would be satisfactory to most Azoreans (Interview, 13 April 1984).

The task force decided to locate the University campuses on the three most populated islands. The members of the task force selected the location for departments based on several criteria: on the vocation of the residents, the resources of the islands, the available faculty and projections for campus development. Ponta Delgada (São Miguel) received the departments of education and agriculture; Angra (Terceira) the departments of animal production and business administration; and Horta (Faial) the department of oceanography and fisheries.[27]

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[26] Costa Matos proposed a "Luxemburg" styled University. He had a global economic view based on fiscal and political autonomy. His plan was designed to attract foreign investments within a very liberal monetary policy. The economic revenues from the use of the space by foreign powers would revert directly to the Azores and the archipelago would be defended by these same powers. He believed that such policies would lead to progress social programs namely education and higher education specifically (Frederico de Oliveira and Gustavo Moura, interviews).

[27] After more thinking and the advice of national and international experts, the department of agriculture was moved to the department of animal production in Terceira. Business administration was settled in São Miguel because of a lack of technical resources in Terceira (Minutes of the CI meetings, 9 August 1976; Correio dos Açores, 3 October 1976).

Since the initial organization of local government in the Azores, the archipelagohas had a tripartite governing structure. The task force was determined to follow the same pattern with the University. Thus, the administrative structure was divided between the three campuses. The triplication of administrative structures seemed to perpetuate and reinforce the past bents of the Azorean population, and efforts to change this division did not find a social consensus.

For Prof. Marçal Grilo, General Director of Higher Education from 1976 to 1980, the choice of location was a compromise solution, which would result in problems related to transportation and resources and thus become a serious constraint for the development of the institutiton. According to Grilo, it was a political decision which took into account the historical and social factors and ignored cost effectiveness (Interview, 12 April 1984).

External Support and Resources

The search for support and for resources started with the Ministerial Directive 414/75 and intensified with the legal creation of the University and the formation of the Installation Commission (CI). In spite of the resources given by the national institutions (Ministry of Education, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, National Environment Commission and Portuguese Air Force) the CI had to search for foreign resources through the Ministry of Education or international connections (CI minutes of the meetings, 21 January 1976 and 7 February 1977). National and international experts were needed to handle problems related to planning resources and organization (Enes, 1976). Funds were needed for equipment, facilities and other start-up costs. Part of the facilities problem was resolved through assigning to the University the building bought in 1974 for the proposed College of Education (Correio dos Açores, 29 July 1973; 12 August 1973). Past research by international groups, the relationships with the USA through Azorean emigrants, and better knowledge of the archipelago by foreign governments and institutions resulted in the donation of outside funds.

The location of the traditional universities in Portugal in the major centres took advantage of the social, artistic and commercial life around those centres. The new universities, away from these centres, suffered because of difficulties associated with obtaining human resources. Additional funds were needed to act as incentives to atract and hold teaching and administrative personnel. The new university with its three campuses required extra financing that the Portuguese government was not prepared to provide.

The IUA benefited from a loan and concessions granted by the government of the Netherlands which enabled it to acquire laboratory equipment, to build facilities and to obtain technical assistance (Correspondence of the Secretary of Finance to the Rector, 2 February 1977). The loans from the government of the Netherlands and from the International Development Agency (AID) financed buildings and laboratories for specific applied research aimed at the betterment of the living conditions for the population. Because of this help, Prof. A. Réfega saw the University adopting a philosophy similar to that of Land Grant Colleges in the USA where community service is emphasized rather than traditional classical education (Interview ; Açores 15 July 1976). Linkages between the IUA, the Organization for Economic and Cultural Development (OECD) and cultural departments of embassies in Lisbon were made by Roberto Carneiro (Minutes of the CI meetings, 9 March 1976).

The CI suggested the need for cooperation with Brazilian universities. In a proposal to these universities, Prof. Enes identified the cultural and historical affinities between Brazil and the Azores and elaborated on the potential benefits of linkages between universities. The proposal was accepted and Prof. Enes visited the Brazilian embassy in Lisbon and later academic institutions in that country (Proposta ao Departamento de Cooperação Cultural do Govêrno Brasileiro, April and May 1977). West Germany promised to cooperate with the Regional Junta in the field of education by helping with the installation of a TV channel (Minutes of the CI meetings, 9 March 1976).

Visits were made to the French and USA embassies for more help. Enes also visited the United States. Enes reported on these countries' contributions, namely the AID loan for technical assistance and post-graduate education for members of the faculty, starting in November 1976 and directed to faculty in animal production and fisheries. Experts from AID, Brown University, Rhode Island University and University of California (Davis) visited the University of the Azores to prepare a more comprehensive budget plan (Minutes of the CI meetings: 9 March, 13 April; Açores 15 April 1976; Correio dos Açores, 19 May 1976; Providence Journal, 14 May 1976).

In 1977 programs of cooperation were worked out with the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, São Paulo University and the Institute of Food Technology. The cooperation of these institutions was valuable in fulfilling needs in development of programs in agriculture and animal production (Rector's report, estimated date, end 1977).

The continuing needs for resources to cover administrative costs was a problem area. The position of administrator was established to take care of finance, personnel, archives and technical and support services.[28] Frederico Oliveira, who served as the first administrator of the IUA, recalled his experiences with other universities, specifically the "New University of Lisbon" and the three new universities established before the 25th of April, 1974. He expressed his feelings in regards to the openess, sharing and warm cooperation of the other new administrators. They had gone through the same difficulties associated with establishing a new type of institution in the traditional University system. He was also grateful for the support and understanding provided at all levels within the Ministry of Education and other departments (Interview).

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[28] In the traditional universities the position of Administrator was performed by the Secretary of the University.

There was continued support from the General Director for Higher Education. An indication of this support was the decision to have a meeting involving the rectors of the Portuguese universities and the General Director for Higher Education which took place in the Azores between 8 and 13 of July 1976 (Correio dos Açores, 15 July 1976). The main objective of the meeting was to support the establishment of the University through a sharing of experiences and suggesting solutions for problems related to the organization and administration of a University. The group reiterated the principles of the universality of culture, specifically of each region and the principles of University autonomy as a guarantee "for the respect of diversity of ideas, in defense of social justice, liberty, democracy and of the priority interests of the local population" (Açores, 11 July 1976;Rocha Trindade, interview).

Tables 3 and 4 show the sources of expert resource missions by countries of origin and the financing bodies responsible for the missions. In total 64 visits were made to the University by experts, 36 arriving from within Portugal, and 28 from other countries. Financing for the

Table 3

SOURCES OF EXPERT RESOURCE MISSIONS

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF MISSIONS
Portugal	36
U.S.A.	23
France	3
Brazil	1
England	1
Total	64

Source: Rector's Report, IUA, Ponta Delgada (nd, estimated 1977).

Table 4

FINANCING INSTITUTIONS

FINANCING INSTITUTIONS	NUMBER OF MISSIONS
I U A	30
A I D	17
Ministry of Education	7
French Embassy	3
O E C D	2
Brazilian Embassy	1
Lisbon Technical University	1
Total	64

Source: Rector's Report, IUA, Ponta Delgada (nd, estimated 1977).

missions came from 61 sources, 30 of which originated within the University.

The Creation of the University

On January 9, 1976 the Sixth Provisional Government, through law 5/76, created the Azorean University Institute (IUA).

After the creation of the IUA, there was great jubilation. To celebrate the victory, an editorial in the newspaper Açores described the University as welcoming in a "new era in the history of the Azores." According to the editorial, through this new institution, the "emergence of a new society" could be achieved because of new future technical and human structures that would result. The editorial praised the Azorean people, students and teachers. Students were advised to take advantage of this academic institution, to "leave their differences at the door of the University" and to work towards one objective, "a better future for the Azores and its people" (Açores, 4 March 1976).

Prof. Enes, a long advocate of an Azorean University, became the IUA's first rector. Enes (1976a) considered the solution of two fundamental problems important in the establishment of the University: the first, its historical, social, economic and, political justification; and the second, the definition of its objectives. In the political context, Enes (1976b) realized the University would not be able to control some forces which would want to manipulate it politically and expressed no interest in doing so. Dr. Jorge Gamboa praised Enes' intelligence and prudence in defining the University by cultural aims as opposed to political thus avoiding this conflict (Interview, 30 November 1983).

Following the legal creation of the University the task force was replaced by another group, the Installation Commission (Correio dos Açores, 28 January 1976). This commission consisted of 10 representatives from the three districts who were chosen because of their scientific and pedagogical backgrounds (Correio dos Açores, 28 January 1976). The CI included all but two members of the task force, so that a continuity of the developmental work could be maintained.[2] R. Fereira, a member of the task force and the CI, was able to distinguish between the work of the task force and the commission. He described the many more specific governmental directives associated with the commission and their task of working out the contracting of personnel for teaching and administration. Following a preliminary design proposal, a redesign of the structure took place.

The CI had met for the first time on January 21, 1976. The meetings continued and refined the work done by the task force. Resource development and support would continue to require major attention. An Examination of the minutes of the CI meetings during the first year identified future goals and new endeavours including:

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[2] Five new members were added to the task force to form the CI: Dr. A. Cunha de Oliveira, Dr. G. Braz Pereira, Dr. J. Leal Armas, Mr. J. B. Pacheco Rodrigues, and Mr. J. F. da Ponte Tavares.

1. The development of relationships with the Central Government, with the Regional Government and with the Portuguese universities.
2. Continuing search for support and resources.
3. The continued consultation with administrative, pedagogical and government authorities.
4. The development of institutional and community interrelationships. Insularity and its consequent effects.
5. The continuous development of curricula. Social supports for staff and families including living accommodations.
6. The further education of staff. Seminars for specific groups and continuous development of University extension services.
7. Constant negotiations with the Ministry of Education through the General Directorate of Higher Education Consultive Council (Minutes of the CI meetings up to February 7, 1977).

The University opened with five academic departments in three locations. Table 5 shows the location of the administration, academic departments and centres.

During 1976/1977 there were 407 students enrolled and 36 teachers. Table 6 shows their distribution among

Table 5

LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATION, ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS AND CENTRES IN 1976/77

ISLAND	ADMINISTRATION	ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS	CENTRES
São Miguel (Ponta Delgada)	Rector's Office - Info. Services - Cultural Extension - Lab. of Applied Ecology Administration Council Scientific and Pedagogical Council	Teacher Education Business Administration	Economic and Management Studies Azorean Studies
Terceira (Angra do Heroísmo)		Agriculture Animal Production	Soil Studies
Faial (Horta)		Oceanography and Fisheries*	

* Department mainly oriented to research, but sharing teaching responsibilities.

Source: Rector's Report, IUA, Ponta Delgada (nd, estimated 1977).

Table 6

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS
IN 1976/1977

DEPARTMENT	STUDENTS	TEACHERS
Teacher Education	264	12
Business Administration	88	9
Agriculture	20	5
Animal Production	35	10
Total	407	36

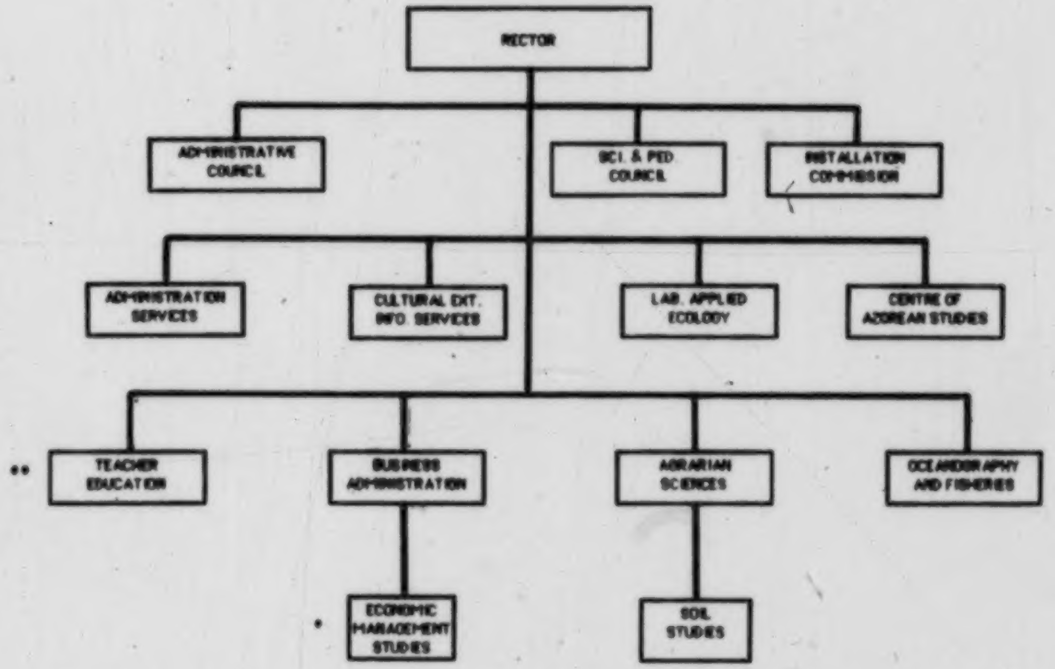
Source: Rector's Report, IUA, Ponta Delgada (nd, estimated 1977).

departments.

There were another 29 staff members not included in Table 6. Six were lecturers and the remaining 23 were distributed among the Department of Oceanography and Fisheries, Laboratory of Applied Ecology, Centre of Azorean Studies and Centre of Soil Studies. Fig. 3 shows the organizational chart for the University in its opening year.

Though officially opened for the academic year 1976/1977 with an introductory semester beginning on March 4th, prior to this legal opening, during the establishment phase (task force), preliminary intensive courses had been offered, as described earlier, to 300 students.

For some, the time between the Ministerial Directive 414/75 and the creation of the University was too short for the amount of work that had to be done. A few Azoreans commented on the University's "rush" to start classes without going through a real installation phase. They criticized the speed of promotimg secondary education teachers, although recognizing the capacity of some of these. They argued that the University should have gone through a much more serious installation phase where qualified professors were identified and atracted and physical facilities were built. They were convinced that the Azores benefited from the University but that the University suffered because of the "rush". Some of these concerns were acknowledged by the Ministry of Education but regardless it "pushed" through the establishment of the IUA.


RECTOR
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
SCI. & PED. COUNCIL
INSTALLATION COMMISSION
ADMINISTRATION SERVICES
CULTURAL EXT. INFO. SERVICES
LAB. APPLIED ECOLOGY
CENTRE OF AZOREAN STUDIES
**
TEACHER EDUCATION
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
AGRARIAN SCIENCES
OCEANOGRAPHY AND FISHERIES
*
ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT STUDIES
SOIL STUDIES

** Department

* Centre

Fig. 3 University of the Azores : Organizational Chart (1976)

Source Rector's Report, UA, Ponta Delgada (nd, estimated 1977)

Monjardino, looking back on the social and political conditions which followed the summer of 1975, considered the creation of this University an act of great impudence, but one where "we had to take the plunge" (Interview). R. Ferreira recalled telling a friend about the amount of work, "I was dropped in the water and the only choice was to sink or swim" (Interview).

Enes (1976) seemed to be aware that the rush in creating the University would lead to some carelessness but that the resulting problems would be worked out in the future. Never in the history of Portuguese universities had so much been accomplished in such a short time period. Prof. Brotas, who followed the process of establishing the University from the beginning, praised publicly the dynamics of the task force of the Azores. During his visit to the Azores, the Secretary of State for Higher Education reported that in spite of the lack of resources, that "the enthusiasm, conviction and balance of the proposals presented by the task force convinced us to accept that challenge" (Açores, 9 May 1976). Prof. MacMillan, who visited the IUA in 1976 to explore cooperative programs with University of Rhode Island, expressed surprise at the speed with which the University was organized (Correio dos Açores, 15 April 1876; Açores, 15 April 1976). Almost the same opinion was reported by the US Ambassador Carlucci in Lisbon, who visited the IUA, offered his country's support and applauded the "speed and tenacity" by which the

University had advanced (Correio dos Açores, 23 July 1976).

Summary

From April 1974 to June 1975 Portugal and the Azores went through a critical time. First, the country saw the development of overall democracy with the formation of democratic parties followed by separatist movements in the Azores. The agitation of these parties created confusion in Portugal. Within this context the universities were closed. In the Azores there was a strong anti-government feeling because of its communist-military nature. This feeling resulted in a protest on June 6, 1975. This protest spread to the continent and brought about a change in government and created an atmosphere in the Azores conducive to the establishment of a University there.

The new Azorean government, realizing the need to defuse the separatist elements, seized upon the idea of a University as one solution to the discontentment evident in the islands. Demands were made of the Central Government and through a ministerial directive procedures to establish the new University were set in motion.

The period between the Ministerial Directive of October 14, 1975 and the formal establishment of the University through law 5/76 passed on January 9, 1976 was a time of intense activity and excitment. Administrative details related to needed finances, facilities, and faculty, were worked out jointly with academic planning. The time was very short, so many details had to await finalization until after the official establishment of the University. Still in spite of the lack of preparedeness in many areas, because of decades of anticipation concerning aninstitution of higher education, when the University was finally established, the people of the Azores were ready.

Table 7 presents in summary form the chronology of events immediately preceding the formal establishment of the Azorean University Institute.

Table 7: A CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE AZORES

A. THE CRITICAL YEAR		B. RUNNING AGAINST TIME		C. THE MINISTERIAL DIRECTIVE 414/75	
1974		1975		1975	
April 25	Military coup	August 31	Colleges of Education were dissolved	October 15 to December	First agenda was proposed and discussed
April 26	Three D's were announced to the nation	August	Dr. Rego started to explore the establishment of a private university		Preliminary and second proposals were elaborated
June 6	MAPA Manifesto published	September	The Bishop of Angra had the agreement of the Presbyterial Council and later of the Patriarch of Lisbon and Papal Nuncio. He supported Rego's group		Local commission groups were formed
July	FLA's Movement appeared		The Regional Junta planned and expedited the development of a university		The planning meetings took place
	Communist Policies introduced		Prof. Enes was invited to develop the plans for a university		Location of the University was decided
August	Communist Civil Governor appointed	October	The President of the Junta (General Magalhaes) took the project to the Minister of Education (Captain Victor Alves)		External support and resources were sought
September	First President of the Republic after the coup resigned		Further plans were elaborated with the Secretary of State for Higher Education (Prof Brotas), Prof. Enes and J. Goulart	1976	
	Communist Policies fostered	October 15	Ministerial Directive 414/75 established the task force	January 9	The Azorean University Institute was created
December	New national plans for higher education				
1975					
January	General A. Magalhaes was appointed Military Governor				
	Politicization of higher education and closing of universities				
March	Formation of the revolutionary council				
April 15	Submission of Report for Autonomous Statute				
April 25	National elections				
June 6	Protest Demonstration in Ponta Delgada				
July 11	New laws for higher education				
July	Azorean Comite was founded in the U.S.				
August	Regional Junta was created				
	FLA's Agitation for Independence continued				

Chapter VIII

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter the findings are discussed in three parts: an analysis of the social forces which influenced the creation of the University, an analysis of the policy which established the University, and an analysis of the outcomes.

The analysis of the social forces answers the study questions related to conditions which might have influenced higher education in the Azores prior to 1974 and about the way individuals and interest groups articulated their demands from 1974 to the time of the policy decision. This first part of the chapter deals with the study questions in three sections. The first section provides an analysis of the social forces from the first settlement of the Azores to the decade of the 1930s. It relies on the findings presented in Chapter IV which gives a social and political overview of Portugal and Chapter V which ties Portuguese history with the Azores. The second section provides an analysis of the events and social forces from the beginning of the Salazar regime through the early seventies up to the April revolution of 1974. The third section provides an analysis of the political events which occurred during the critical year of 1974/1975 and consequent developments following Ministerial Directive 414/75 which occurred during the "hot summer" of 1975.

The second part of the chapter presents a policy analysis of the developments which took place after the ministerial directive up to the time of the legal creation of the University of the Azores in January 1976. The analysis in the second part of the chapter attempts to answer the third and fourth research questions about the way in which the policy evolved, about the way in which the Central Government and the Azorean Regional Junta influenced the policy process, and about the ways the policy was determined.

The third part of the chapter provides an analysis of the outcomes of the University. The individuals mentioned in this part are those who were involved officially in the establishment and development of the University. The analysis in part three attempts to answer the fifth research question describing the policy outcomes from 1976 to the present. Particular emphasis is placed on the first years following the creation of the University.

A. Analysis of Social Forces

Values, according to Dror (1971), are ranked with goals, social behavior, institutional awareness, and political feasibility as important factors in policymaking. Individuals seek to maximize their values by using institutions to affect the specific environment (Lasswell,1971; Hall,1977). Combined with conditions from the general environment the values are transformed into social forces which serve as inputs to the social system. Then when it is politically feasible, policymaking will occur.

Settlement to the Decades of the 1930s

The discovery of the Azores between 1427 and 1452 was followed by almost immediate settlement by the Portuguese and later by the Flemish. From the time of settlement to the twentieth century four forces were of major importance: demographic, political, economic and religious. It was only in 1460 that the archipelago became an object of interest. During the maritime journeys which were part of the Portuguese expansion, the Azores were valued as a source of merchandise and military and naval forces (Monjardino, 1983; Dias, 1928). In addition, the Azores helped to decrease Portugal's permanent deficit because they were a source of goods in the form of wheat, cattle and fish (Marques, 1972). By the end of the fifteenth century the archipelago had become an economic force as well as a general port of call and recruitment for the navigation lines extending to the various corners of the Portuguese empire.

The archipelago prospered because of its vast resources and brought great benefit rather than difficulties for the throne. The population rose considerably up to the end of the sixteenth century. The islands were agriculturally profitable with new plantations introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Up until the beginning of the nineteenth century the crown was purely exploitative, in relation to the Azores with valuable products going mainly in one direction -- from the Azores to mainland Portugal. As Marques (1972) pointed out, the Azores provided the Central Government with a steady revenue in the form of goods and taxes.

Power was highly centralized in Portugal. By the eighteenth century there was a certain uneasiness in the Azores in relation to the governmentin Lisbon. The Azoreans were frustrated in their development and in their capacity to affect political decisions (Monjardino,1981). Control, as exercised by the religious, civilian and military organizations, was centralized and unresponsive to Azorean needs. In the eighteenth century the Captain General of the Azores, Gregório de Melo supported public complaints about these conditions (Forjaz, 1984). He was concerned about the lack of commitment to the islands by the centrally appointed administrators.[38]

The crown was not concerned with social welfare (charity) and education because the religious orders took care of these needs at no cost to the public treasury. These religious orders had grown considerably, becoming powerful through the various institutions they established

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[38] From the beginning of the recorded history of the Diocese of the Azores to date, all thirty seven bishops but one, who was Azorean, came from Portugal (Pereira, 1950; Mota,1981), despite the fact that many Azoreans were elevated to bishops and cardinals. They served on the Portuguese mainland and other parts of the empire.

and with the support of some of the kings. However, they contributed to the education of only a limited segment of the population.

Liberalism during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a reaction against the political centralization and the economic exploitation of the absolutists in control. This political force marked the beginning of a new era in Azorean history where new values emerged affecting social conditions. These led to efforts to enhance educational opportunities, but, because it was not yet politically feasible, these efforts were frustrated.

The significant environmental forces of the time appeared to be political, driven by a growing desire for autonomy. Autonomy was seen as the means of fulfilling other values, those of well-being, wealth, skill and enlightenment.

Following the liberal constitution of 1822 in Portugal, an attempt was made in the Azores to shift power from the centralized authority to elected representatives. Local autonomy was seen as a means whereby greater power could be gained. Power, it was felt, if exercised at the local level, would give the Azoreans a better means for self-determination in educational and economic matters. The central government, however, put aside those aspirations and established a Military Academy in an effort to increase its presence in the Azores and to protect the nation. This pattern was followed throughout the nineteenth century, and even by Salazar in the twentieth century. Distant Lisbon, in the opinion of Azoreans, continued to neglect the islands and to keep them under the control of appointed officials. In the early nineteenth century a new system of even greater centralism, inspired by Napoleonic influences, transferred the power of the Captain General from the Azores to Portugal. The islands were divided into two prefectures and later into three districts. Azorean efforts to gain partial autonomy were consistently frustrated.

The Plan of Studies of 1825, was a reaction to the central government's establishment of a Military Academy on the islands. The need for a Military Academy was questioned, while concerns for rural economics, agricultural development, and medical assistance were expressed. Requests were made for basic education and work experience programs. In response, the Central Government organized a Medical School which was to be short lived. The Medical School was a response in the extreme to one request while the basic needs were apparently neglected.

In the Plan of Studies, the goals and values of the Azoreans in relation to basic education and economic development were expressed. These would be reiterated over the next century and a half. For the most part, they would only be partially satisfied, while requests for self-government were ignored. The Plan of Studies envisioned the needs for technical and vocational education.

It was only after the political and social climate which led to "Setembrismo" that the Azores benefited from the nation's overall education policy favouring the establishment of secular education. In 1836, lycees were founded in Portugal. Between 1851 and 1853, lycees were located in the three districts of the archipelago. These marked a new era in education that was a consequence of liberalism. With the lycees education roughly equivalent to secondary schooling, previously provided by the Jesuits, became guaranteed and the curricula secularized. It was not until many years after the lycees were founded that technical schools were opened in 1885 and 1890 in the Azores. Requests were ignored for an agricultural school in the Azores. Lycees were not requested, but were established because they were part of the national policy and, like the Jesuit Schools benefited the social elite. Similar to the technical schools, normal schools for educating elementary teachers were not established until much later then was the case elsewhere, between 1875 and 1898. Here again one can argue that the early educational policy was designed to benefit the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and not the masses.

The more liberal education did benefit the Azores in that it contributed to the development of political forces toward the end of the nineteenth century. New leaders appeared who promoted development and defended decentralization. They joined with other Azoreans in complaining about the state "neglecting" the islands, because hopes for new roads, specialized schools and improved communications were ignored. Stinchcombe (1965) pointed out that a major societal determinant of organizational development is general literacy. Literacy and schooling, he indicated, raise practically every variable which encourages the formation of organizations and increases the staying power of these new organizations. The lycees were affecting the Azores in a major way, if only among the island's elite. An educated leadership emerged, which promoted goals and values which would require new organizations for their fulfillment. These goals and their supportive structures might not be fulfilled for many decades, but the values were growing as more Azoreans were educated.

Certainly foremost among the values being expressed were power values (Lasswell, 1971:22). These were expressed through the growth of the movement for autonomy. The formation of the general juntas and the division of the archipelago into three districts had weakened the islands politically. Liberalism had generated hope for new administrative structures, but their establishment in the form of the general juntas generated discontent. This discontent resulted in protest.

In 1892 the Portuguese parliament closed down the alcohol industry in São Miguel in a protectionist move for mainland establishments. This closure had the effect of asphyxiating the Azorean economy (Vaz do Rego, interview) and laid the foundation for the First Autonomy Movement (Faria e Maia, 1947).

The end of the nineteenth century marked a new era in power relationships between mainland Portugal and the Azores. The First Autonomy Movement was a turning point in Azorean history as the central power lost favour among Azoreans. Almond and Powell (1978) noted the importance of education in increasing individual awareness and effectiveness in both political and economic life. Azorean desires for education had been whetted, but remained largely unfulfilled. Again at the end of the century requests for an agricultural school were denied. Lisbon ignored the request from the Azores and kept the islands politically weak and economically undeveloped. During the first decade of the twentieth century political instability on the mainland caused education to deteriorate in Portugal and in the Azores. An Azorean intellectual, Dias (1928:43), stated: "In general, we owe little to the central government; the initiatives are always ours, and to obtain financial or other support means to attain a conquest."

In summary, prior to the nineteenth century a variety of social forces led to discontentment with the Central Government. This discontentment increased with the coming of liberalism to the Azores through which the people saw their true potential in the form of new goals and values. Some of these were desires for power, well-being, wealth, skill and enlightenment. During the nineteenth century, Azoreans began to vocalize these goals and values, while supporting autonomy as a means for fulfilling them. The movement for autonomy became a major political force through which these demands would be articulated throughout the decades to follow. Though requests were made even in the nineteenth century for the establishment of some sort of institution of higher education, the fulfillment of this dream would have to wait until conditions made it politically feasible.

From the Thirties to the Early Seventies

In this section the political, economic and social events from the 1930s through the early seventies are discussed. This section is based on the antecedent factors which influenced the creation of the University of the Azores, as reported in Chapter VI. The developments which contributed to the creation of the University have their roots in the nineteenth century and before.

During the 1930s there was no educational policy for the development of higher education in mainland Portugal or in any part of the Portuguese empire. Salazar had come to power in order to provide political stability in Portugal and the empire. Though he made gestures toward improving education, his aim was to use education as a means of control. Opportunities were provided to satisfy the elite, while the masses were kept ignorant. In 1937, in order to allay agitation for autonomy in the Azores, he revised the Statute for the Autonomous Districts of the Adjacent Islands, which made scholarships available to a few Azoreans enabling them to enroll in the universities in Portugal.

Despite the changes introduced by the revisions in the Statute, the desire to overthrow Portuguese bondage spread. Increasing numbers joined in the movement for autonomy. The aspirations of the population clearly demonstrated the existence of unity which Lasswell (1971:22) would associate with affection values. While affection by the Azoreans for their island homeland was evident, it seems that it was the power motive which was dominant.

Because the tight economic policies of Salazar up to time of the Second World War did not favour higher education policies, higher education, according to Marques (1972), declined generally. Since mass education was not a priority illiteracy increased to 55 per cent in 1940 compared to the 30 per cent it had been in 1911. The over-population of the archipelago and high infant mortality were a consequence of the strict economic policies and stagnation existing in the Azores.[31] Dr. Estrêla Rego, a medical doctor, recalled the decade of the 1930s as one of famine (Interview). Though the district general juntas expressed to Lisbon the need to promote health in the Azores to decrease infant mortality and the need to provide education for children, the understanding of these Azorean needs by the central government, as indicated previously was "nil" (Vaz do Rego, interview).

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[31] In a village of 3000 inhabitants, only 11 boys,including the researcher, attended grade 4. The rest worked in the fields. Three times more girls attended grade 4 than boys.

The first Azorean Congress (1938) and the Azorean Insular Conference (1954) both identified needs for educational development and cultural expansion. These conferences were an expression of Azorean values, but no specific requests were made. Could it be that the Azorean delegates were afraid of the central power?

The call of the Azoreans to Lisbon was Salazar's strategy to reinforce the Lusitanian culture and the symbolic performance of his regime. He had called a conference of all colonial governors who met in Lisbon in 1935 to strengthen the promise of solidarity (Marques,1972). By calling the Azorean Congress in 1938, he wished to perpetuate his conservatism and to emphasize the virtue of patriotism. It may have also been a means of placating the demands for Azorean autonomy by providing the appearance of listening to the islands' concerns.

The First Azorean Congress was well publicized. Though it seemed to provide a channel of communication to the Central Government and a means of expressing the needs of the archipelago, no demands for improvements were made. The centralization policy of the government did not encourage requests. Lawyer Melo Bento described the Central Government as "too powerful to allow the periphery to have any personality" (Interview).

The Azorean delegates addressed the desires of the population about needs for education and economic and social well being through the development of agriculture, technology and sanitation. However, no specific plans were elaborated. Perhaps they were waiting for a more opportune moment. Further congresses never did take place. Up to the thirties the movement for autonomy was strong. Even though political values continued to exist, as a force it became powerless because of the pressures exerted by the Salazar dictatorship. During the forties and fifties cultural forces began to emerge. They manifested themselves in the form of cultural societies throughout the districts. Culture was a safe vehicle to express the uniqueness of Azorean values. However, the cultural movement had little effect on the educational system, perhaps because the movement involved only isolated groups and events.

Sixteen years passed before Azoreans again met to discuss their concerns. The Azorean Insular Conference concentrated on the enunciation of the same needs although to a restricted assembly. Whereas the First Azorean Congress was held in Lisbon before an audience which included officials from the Central Government, the Azorean Insular Conference took place in São Miguel with representatives of the general juntas present. Again no plans were made. A second conference scheduled for later did not take place. This conference would have dealt with artistic concerns, the protection of historic and literary values. There was a clear absence of discussion of political means. The nation's political climate was unfavourable. The Azoreans seemed afraid of the central political power. Cultural concerns were taking the place of political concerns.

The government's knowledge of the social realities in the archipelago and other regions outside and far from Lisbon continued to be poor. Nowell (1973:154) noted that most of the Salazar reforms for increasing the comforts and amenities were concentrated in Lisbon. The regions benefitted little. Lisbon became an "island of luxury in a sea of national poverty."

Though some schools were built in the archipelago following the Second World War, because of economic improvement, nevertheless, requests in 1950s for higher education were ignored. In the decade of the fifties, the voices of the Azoreans fell silent. Censorship and political surveillance were life-threatening factors. The dictatorship, as observed by Melo Bento, did not permit people to think "horizontally" (Interview).

The Azorean Congress does not seem to have brought any practical benefits. Educational changes did not occur. The Azorean Insular Conference revived the concerns of the society which desired change, but administrative and economic problems found no solutions. However, the conferences may have served to reaffirm the needs and values of the Azoreans.

The decade of the sixties brought new directions to Azorean life. It marked a distinct improvement in economic conditions. Emigration to the USA and Canada was a contributing economic force in the region because the emigrants sent their savings to family members in the Azores. In 1959 the population was 334,000 representing one of the highest densities of any Portuguese territory. Heavy emigration caused the population to decline (Colliers, 1969) and resulted in improved economic conditions.

Elementary education opportunities were increasing. In addition, as in many western European countries, the number of students seeking higher education increased considerably during the sixties. Many of these students were returning to the Azores. And though many of the youth were sent to fight in the African territories, conditions of life had improved. A middle class was emerging.

Politically, the sixties showed that the desire for autonomy was still alive, though it had been latent for a generation. Journalist Gustavo Moura viewed the aspirations for higher education along with other values, as important in motivating the spirit of autonomy.

The Weeks of Studies were the most significant cultural event of the sixties. Considering their religious origin they must be interpreted as partly a religious force in the realm of rectitude and respect values (Lasswell,1971). Though the Weeks looked at the Azorean society comprehensively, in fact the first week dealt mostly with religious topics and was offered by teachers of the Seminary of Angra. Their importance should not be underestimated. They were a pivotal stage bringing together the intellectual forces of the islands and creating a new awareness of the economic, social and demographic conditions affecting the archipelago and its people. They triggered later developments which emerged in the form of the regional planning commissions and the consequent inputs to the third and fourth developmental plans. They used qualitative and quantitative paradigms to provide the information required in future decision making. In summary, their impact, as seen restrospectively, was in providing a stimulus for future planning (E.Carneiro), and in affirming the values held by Azorean society. In addtion, the Central Government seemed to have taken the Weeks seriously since they formed the basis for subsequent planning commissions and developmental plans.

Many Azoreans involved in the creation of the University saw the Weeks of Studies as preparing the ground for the University. Some participants in the Weeks of Studies later became involved in the planning for the University, through membership in the task force, the local commission groups and the installation commission.

In addition, the Weeks of Studies perpetuated the values and needs of the population and also strengthened the intellectual aspirations of Azoreans which Melo Bento viewed as having declined during the Salazar years. Awareness of values and needs and the intellectual capacity to articulate them were social forces which supported the creation of the University.

Up until the 1960s, Azoreans had no input into the nation's developmental plans. The third developmental plan recognized their needs in transportation and communications, health, housing and education. The fourth developmental plan spelled out the needs for higher education and for equality of access to education. Moreover, the plan proposed that expenses should not be paid by the islands alone. The problems of insularity were partially considered. It was in this plan that an official request for the creation of a polytechincal institute and a college of education was made.

With the coming of Marcello Caetano to power in 1968, developments occurred in the Azorean society which were mostly political, including the liberalization of freedom of speech. The problems affecting the Azores could now be talked about more openly.

The conferences of Tomar and Aveiro were results of that liberalization (Ts-F.C.C.#36985). Delegates denounced the previous regime for its neglect of cultural needs and for the poor health standards. Proposals for remedying these conditions were delineated. In education, insularity was a consideration, because of problems it posed for students in furthering their schooling. As political forces, the Aveiro and Tomar conferences clearly asked for better opportunities at various levels of education, including both basic and University education. Both conferences at Aveiro and Tomar, one promoted by the opposition and the other by the ANP, identified the social, economic and educational problems of the Azoreans. Both conferences were critical of the central regime and promoted an awareness in mainland Portugal of the problems in the Azores.

The last event of social significance was the Lagoa lectures. They raised the cultural awareness of the population in a time of growing aspirations. They also benefited from the liberalization of the Marcello Caetano regime. The lectures dealt with many issues, some of them forbidden in the preceding years. Of the many lectures held, almost one third had a religious theme. To an outsider, the high presence of religious topics may seem exagerated. However, it must be pointed out that these were times of heavy censorship and the discussion of political issues was closely watched if not outright forbidden. Thus, as a protection, the organizers introduced social and political themes indirectly through the discussion of the teachings of the Church via the documents of the Council Vatican Second and the papal encyclicas on social matters. Table 8 shows the topics adressed and their frequency at the Lagoa lectures.

In the early seventies, during the period of the Caetano government, University reform was highly debated and

Table 8

LAGOA LECTURES
TOPICS ADDRESSED AND THEIR FREQUENCY

TOPIC	FREQUENCY
Religion	26
Sociology	11
Politics	10
Agriculture	10
Administration	6
Arts	6
Economy	6
Education	6
Health	3
History	2
Ethnography	2
Journalism	1
Tourism	1
Total	88

Source: Amaral Borges (Interview, 16 January 1984;
Conference Calendar).

the formation of a modern University was advocated. Reactions against change continued, but Prime Minister Marcello Caetano was in favour of a University which would be free of the constraints found in traditional universities (Miller Guerra, 1970: 171).

A debate took place in the National Assembly, and ended favouring a University with an Anglo-Saxon philosophy. The capacity to address socially relevant problems and the flexibility to influence change without losing its basic characteristics were given a great deal of support. Representative Miller Guerra believed that social reforms were impossible without the creation of new universities. The new universities would, according to the representatives in the National Assembly, stimulate the social and economic development of the regions. Though the creation of more universities was recommended, there were no immediate results.

In the years preceding this debate (1966-1967), 1400 students from both the Azores and Madeira archipelagos, had been enrolled in universities in Portugal (Miller Guerra, 1970:80). Some of these students could have been studying in their islands, if institutions of higher education had been available. Discrimination in the Salazar days resulted in different policies for the African colonies and the Azores. While transportation to the Portuguese mainland was paid for African students, Azoreans were required to pay their own fares (Miller Guerra, 1970). The desires for autonomy in Angola and Mozambique led the Central Government to create universities in these territories in 1963 (Marques, 1972,2:256). In the Azores, fear by some individuals stood as an obstacle to their requesting institutions of higher education (Melo Bento, interview).

Most Azoreans involved in establishing the University felt that an institution of higher education in the Azores was not possible during such a regime. Melo Bento indicated that the Portuguese "thought the desire for a University was a pretense on our (the Azoreans) part" (Interview).

In the early seventies the Veiga Simão Ministry provided great hope for a University. In the archipelago, an awareness of educational needs was growing. The liberalization proposed by Caetano promoted a dialogue in regards to social, economic, cultural and technological conditions. Political forces grew. Still within an authoritarian regime, the Veiga Simão Ministry supported a philosophy of participation, development and democratization in education. The Ministry, in contrast with other departments was promulgating an almost democratic atmosphere. The nation was feeling it. The minister clearly saw the need for education in general and higher education in particular in order for a society to adapt to change. There were "crying needs" for equality of access in the higher education system. The themes of expansion, individualization and diversification of higher education were intimately related to a concern for all societal needs and aspirations. The documents, known as the Veiga Simão reforms, when put before the nation, were taken seriously. The citizens were not used to horizontal participation. The archipelago studied and organized participation and input from the educational and other sectors in the form of reports, letters, seminars, conferences, briefs and comments. The positive feedback was immense. The mass media were highly involved. Hopes for change were great. Requests were made for a college of education and a polytechnical institute. Only the college of education was created.

The movement for autonomy which had almost drawn to a halt in the 1940s, reached a climax in the period from 1970 to 1974. In advocating regional development, the movement was a driving force believed to bring considerable improvement in social conditions, economic aspirations and political aims. The college of education provided tangible evidence of progress in the realm of higher education. However, because of the April 1974 revolution, plans for the college of education were thwarted, only to be revived and articulated in the form of demands for a University in the critical year of 1974-1975.

The concentration of the universities in the three most populated cities of Portugal was an obstacle to the decentralization process in higher education. During the planning stages in the Ministry of Veiga Simão, a decision was made not to establish universities in regions with fewer than one million inhabitants. According to educational planners, this was a thesis proposed by the OECD and other international organizations (R.Carneiro and Brotas,interviews). The Ministry of Education adopted that model and, as a result, the establishment of a University in the Azores was not considered -- only a college of education. This decision was made in spite of precedent elsewhere. For example, Iceland with the same population as the Azores had had a University since 1911. Prince Edward Island, the Canary Islands, and Corsica, all with smaller populations, also have universities.

Despite the progress made in 1974, the priorities of the early seventies still benefited the classical universities of mainland Portugal and the African colonies. Though the values of the people supported a University in the Azores, as indicated by Prof. Ponte Tavares, it would have been very difficult within the philosophy prior to the revolution to have a University in the Azores (Interview,8 March 1984). It was not as yet politically feasible.

In summary, because of the heavy-handedness of the central government under the Salazar dictatorship, the population's elite turned from autonomy to culture as an issue. Political power became a latent force, substituted by cultural forces which were exhibited among a small but influencial segment of the population. These cultural influences climaxed in the Weeks of Studies during the 1960s. They were an affirmation of the values held by the

Azorean society and formed the basis for the planning commisssions to follow.

Throughout the whole period, at all the conferences, increased desires for improvements in health care, economic status and education were manifested. During the decades of the 1930s, through the 1950s, these values were sometimes expressed, but no demands were made and no action was taken. These were decades of stagnation in economic growth and political awareness. The sixties and early seventies saw a clearer articulation of needs. Emigrants left the Azores in large numbers for the United States and Canada. They were to play a major role in the critical year. Students returning from the universities, exerted a powerful cultural and political influence. With the liberalization of freedom of speech, problems were discussed openly. The conferences of Aveiro and Tomar focused on themes of isolation and insularity. The Lagoa lectures raised the awareness of the population in relation to their cultural and human aspirations. Finally, as minister of education, Veiga Simão became aware of these cultural and political forces, and recognized the Azorean values. He manifested his understanding of the needs by initiating major educational reforms and through the promise of a college of education.

The decades of the thirties through the seventies are summarized as follows in Table 9.

Table 9

A SUMMARY OF EVENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE 1930's THROUGH THE 1970's

DECADES/YEAR	EVENTS	CONSEQUENCES
1938	Azorean Congress	Description of needs/aspirations of the population.
1950's	Azorean Insular Conference	
1960's	Weeks of Studies	Studies, analysis, planning inputs to Government. Led to planning commissions.
1970's	Third and Fourth Developmental Plans	
1973	Aveiro and Tomar Conferences	Denouncements of Government. Recognition of deficiencies in education.
1970-1975	Conferences of Lagoa	Growing general awareness of needs for reform.
1970-1974	Veiga Simao Reform	Participation, reform plans, materialization of plans.

From the Coup to the Ministerial Directive

With the military coup of April 25, 1974 came new freedoms. In the Azores, desires for autonomy were renewed and hopes for an institution of higher education were raised.

The Azoreans took seriously the three objectives announced by the new military government: to democratize, to decolonize, and to develop. These goals supported their desired changes. Yet, nationwide the objectives were interpreted differently. Decolonization as a government policy was applied to the African territories, not to the Azores. However, Azoreans, generally felt "colonized." They hoped that through democratization and decolonization, they could gain autonomy. Development could fulfill other aspirations for wealth, skills and enlightenment. However, these goals were not readily attained nor were they to be attained without a struggle.

Growing Dissatisfaction

Within months, "democratization" had resulted in anarchy as the Portuguese took advantage of their new freedoms. Yet, this could have been expected, because there had been no prior political socialization. Over a period of several decades, the majority of the population had been "rendered politically unconscious" (Commonweal, 18 October 1968:77). In the Azores, new parties were formed, each one competing with the other for political power, often to the point of physical confrontation.

One of the political movements, the MAPA, in its communiqué of May 7, 1974, expressed the Azorean desire for development. The communiqué listed twenty strategies for social, political, and economic change, including the demand for higher education. The early date, less than two weeks following the coup, suggested that the latent political forces were waiting for the first opportunity to emerge. Once the dam was broken, a flood of sentiments, wishes and aspirations followed.

The local elite took advantage of the political confusion to revive the autonomy issue, at this time desiring self-determination. The desires for a University (as expressed in the MAPA communiqué) seemed to be clearly associated with the political movement for autonomy. For the first time the possibility of satisfying those aspirations was seen as politically feasible in the midst of the extraordinary confusion reigning in the Portuguese mainland after the revolution. The confusion, perplexity and government disarray gave the Azoreans the opportunities "to beat upon certain half-open doors" (Monjardino, interview). The Azoreans used the great turmoil and chaos in Portugal to advantage in order to achieve their own aims.

As the Central Government swung to the left in September of 1974, the Azorean population, traditionally very religious, rejected the communist ideology. The generation of the forties had been indoctrinated against it. They felt that communism threatened the majority of the population, not only the rich. This is true despite the situation on the island of São Miguel, where four or five families employed 90 per cent of the rural population in agriculture (Commonweal, 26 November 1965:240). The communist ideology was not attractive to Azoreans, not because it was against capitalism which affected a few, but because it was against the Catholic Church which affected all.

Taking advantage of the confusion in Portugal, the political forces in the Azores continued to grow. Desires for independence instead of autonomy increased. The MAPA's further declarations in the newspapers (Açores, 6 June 1974; 9 November 1974) strengthened the social forces and alerted the population to the advantages of autonomy.

Communist political elements were able to change the Civil Governor who was associated with the old regime. A new Civil Governor was appointed four months after the revolution. He represented the power of the new Central Government and wished to impose that ideology on the archipelago. This was not received well by the majority of the Azoreans, particularly among those on "the tenth island," those emigrants living in the US and Canada. The strength of the family as an institution in the Azores was seen not only in the islands but also abroad. The emigrants were concerned that a communist government would mean breaking family ties so they started to organize to fight against the Central Government to protect "their" territory.

The Azorean nationalist movement, FLA, considered initially a populist movement, had strong international ties through Azoreans living in Canada and the USA. Based on nationalism, anti-communism and Catholicism, it became well organized, forming students' and women's groups.

FLA's leader, Dr. José de Almeida, became the symbol of freedom desired by the majority of the Azoreans, even those in other movements. The FLA believed that the Portuguese world was blindly following Moscow (MNA/FLA, nd.:20). For the members of the FLA autonomy was not a consideration; they wanted independence. Economic help from the Netherlands and the USA for the University was facilitated by awareness created by the movement and its leader. However, Melo Bento stated that, if the intellectual wing of the FLA had been more radical, the development of the University would have benefited even more. The drive for autonomy and independence continued to grow, partly because the swing to the left in Portugal energized the movement. The FLA believed that political forces in Portugal sent agents and agitators to the Azores, "to turn the islands into a battleground" (MNA/FLA, nd.:22). However, the FLA was believed to have supported agitators. Chaos in Portugal was exploited. The FLA incited not only the growing political forces, but also the cultural forces. It gave rebirth to and published literature to defend and support its cause.

The Sixth Of June

Dissatisfaction with the communist government resulted in the protest demonstration in front of the palace of the Civil Governor on June 6, 1975. Economic restraints and the anti-Catholic bias of the government animated the population's sentiments for autonomy and independence. The Civil Governor was forced to step down. In what might have been a measure to restrain political opposition, the Military Governor, General Magalhães, became the representative of the Central Government in the Azores. If restraint was the central government's hidden agenda, it was unsuccessful. The General served as a conciliator, satisfying both the needs of Portugal and those of the Azores. Though he did not believe in separatism (Interview), he seemed to support autonomy.

Since his first appointment to the Azores in 1945, Altino Magalhães had become an astute observer of the developments taking place in the Azores. The General kept informed about the social forces surrounding him (Father H. Pontes, interview). Bruno Carreiro, in the daily newspaper _Açoriano Oriental_, acknowledged that the General had a solid social and political knowledge of the archipelago, but he complained that the General had never understood the feelings and thoughts of the Azorean people (3 July 1984). This is probably not true. According to many respondents, General Magalhães was considered a man of wisdom, although one stated that the General was not void of ambition.

Gergen (1968) would describe Magalhães as exerting leverage in order to affect policy outcomes.

The protest demonstration of June 6th had a direct effect in pressuring the government. It was a form of access crossing the border from constitutional to unconstitutional channels. The protest demonstration was what Wilson (1961), as cited by Almond and Powell (1978:83), described as a tactic of the "powerless" groups in society to influence decision makers to whom they don't have access. Not essentially a protest demonstration to create a University, the groups represented major forces in the Azores. Individuals and groups made demands on the political system to satisfy their interests. These demands, which Easton (1965) called claims, served as inputs into the political system.

With the resignation of the Civil Governor, a new channel of access opened up. The Military Governor, in a critical role, began to interpret and channel the problems of the Azores to Lisbon. This political change affected the general environment. The influence of this change prepared the environment for further changes to occur later. These developments agree with the statement of Hall (1977) who noted that revolution cannot be accomplished without the presence of conditions appropriate for organizational development. The events which occurred in the Azores through the decades of the 30s to the 70s were a testimony of the conditions required for change.

The sixth of June was the beginning of a new era, which would bring about the most significant power shift to date. To defuse the situation, the Central Government created the Regional Junta headed by the Military Governor, who would represent Portuguese sovereignty in the Azores. The Regional Junta had the mandate to decentralize power, but with no democratic representation in the constitutional sense. The Regional Junta began planning for the Azores. The creation of a higher education institution in the Azores was to become, according to Magalhães, Aguiar and Monjardino, part of that planning (Interviews).

It was clear to Lisbon that the Azores was not willing to accept a central power as it existed up to 1974. Without the Azores, the chances of Portugal continuing to be an Atlantic power would be lessened, therefore Azorean separatism was to be avoided. The Azoreans knew this and used it to their advantage. True autonomy was politically feasible as was the creation of a University.

Plans for a University

The plans for education which had been proposed by Veiga Simão in the last four years (1970-1974) were reactivated nationally. With greater freedom of speech the nation expressed new desires for education. In mainland Portugal some intellectuals were speaking more openly in favour of changes in higher education. As one of those who spoke out for a new University policy, Barahona Fernandes pointed out that the University must aspire towards an educational policy open to all social groups (Diário de Notícias, 11 January 1975).

Portuguese intellectuals were now also in favour of the creation of a University as well as political autonomy for the Azores. This contrasted with the time prior to the revolution when, according to Gustavo Moura, academics did not favour new institutions outside of the traditional classical universities (Interview).

Prior to the military coup the the influence of the Azores in the old empire was very small. The April revolution changed Portugal geographically, economically and socially. The Portuguese empire was reduced to continental and insular Portugal including the Azores and Madeira. [32] The Azores became more important to the country. Dissatisfaction with the national regime had been the reason for the growth of the autonomy and independence movements. These were perceived to be a factor in the events contributing to the demand for a University.

Following the MAPA and other support for a University, a "policy alternative" was proposed by Dr. Rego in the form of attempts to establish a private University. Dr. Rego's correspondence with Prof. Bailey and his contacts with the Church through the Bishop of Angra are evidence of these attempts, which may be interpreted as the exploration of policy alternatives to satisfy a policy problem. Dr. Rego's group was encouraged by the Bishop of Angra who had interested and gained the full support of the Church.

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[32] With the decolonization the ultramarine colonies: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Cape Verde and São Tomé became independent. Macau was not decolonized because China had interest in keeping that province under Portuguese administration, and the sovereignty of Timor is being discussed.

Two interest groups are thus identified as primary forces pushing for the establishment of a University -- the MAPA and Rego's private group. The private group did not articulate demands, which as suggested by Almond and Powell, is a characteristic of interest groups. Rather it was working through foreign contacts and with the Church to establish its own University. Nevertheless, as soon as the private group's plans became known to the Regional Junta, they became a form of interest articulation upon which the Regional Junta acted. Their effect in the political system was indirect whereas the MAPA's effect was direct. The efforts of the private group became part of the environmental forces or inputs into the political system (Dye, 1978).

Within the framework described by Almond and Powell (1978), the interest groups involved as social forces were of two types. Though the MAPA were a loosely organized group of individuals, the group arose as a spontaneous expression of grievances immediately after the revolution, which is characteristic of anomic interest groups. Members of this group as well as the FLA were a part of the 6th of June protest demonstration.

The private group was initially a non-associational interest group (Almond and Powell, 1978), because of its absence of organization. The group had common interests such as religion and occupation as well as continuing cultural ties. Although non-associational, the private group benefited from the support of the Church through the Council of Priests (Conselho Presbiteral) and institutional dignitaries. This backing was a religious force, which through the Bishop of the Diocese, expressed a desire for a Church-affiliated University since it would contribute to the preservation of the human and Christian values of the archipelago (Interview).

It is clear that the Regional Junta, considered the government of the time, was another interest group. The talks about the University, both formally and informally, led to the Junta's interest and decision in accepting the creation of the University as a priority.

The General was highly respected at the national level because of his cooperation with Portugal over the separatist demands (H. Aguiar, interview). He used his political power and his military position to initiate the establishment of the University. In fact, he personally called the Minister of Education who in the military hierarchy was his subordinate, a captain of the army, and one of the officers who was part of the coup.

Though some of the people involved in the establishment of the University were not aware of the role of the Church in planning for the University, others, such as E. Moura, were. Moura considered it more appropriate for the State and not the Church to intervene directly in the education of its people (Interview). Had the Church taken a stronger role in the development of a University, it would not have resolved the problems of equality of access. Because of their private character Catholic universities are expensive institutions to attend.

General Magalhães viewed the creation of the University as a part of the global planning and as an aspiration of the Azoreans to prepare the much needed technicians for the region and for the nation (Interview). For the General the development of the University was a natural follow up of local interests, within the priorities of the Regional Junta. General Magalhães recalled hearing about the establishment of a Catholic University, but stated that at that time the idea did not interfere with the Junta's plan for a secular University. Though Magalhães was not willing to acknowledge the private group's influence on the Junta, Dr. R. Ferreira indicated that, had it not been for the private group, the Regional Junta would not had moved toward creating a University.

General Magalhães must be credited with wisdom in selecting Prof. Enes to lead the planning and implementation team for the University. Like Magalhães, he also provided the leverage (Gergen, 1968) needed for the creation of the University since he was a part of the University system and also knew the Azores. It would have been very difficult for the Regional Junta to impress the

Central Government with a person outside of the University system. Enes also knew well the values of Azorean society as well its realities and problems. Because of his involvement in the Weeks of Studies, he was viewed as enthusiastic and committed to Azorean goals. The others involved in the University development where pleased when Enes was selected to do the background work for the creation of the University and some credited him with its formation. He became so identified with its establishment that many people, when they think of the University think of Prof. Enes.

Even though political instability continued, the development of the University was not affected by the events. At the same time as the University was being developed, political autonomy for the archipelago was being negotiated. Though the Regional Junta was not a constitutional body, it served as the channel through which demands were routed (Monjardino, interview). The Regional Junta was able to acquire the basic resources. The appointment of Prof. Enes provided the leadership to pull the resources together. Individuals and interest groups had expressed their demands and were prepared to give their support. The community was waiting for some action.

Prof. Rocha Trindade, a former General Director for Higher Education described the two forces at work at that time. On one hand, there was a preoccupation with the idea that everythinghad to be "done in name of the people, of socialism, of democracy, of equality and social justice." On the other hand, there was the pressure for an Azorean University and the perceptions of politicians on the mainland of the risk of separatism (Interview). Hence it fell to the Central Government to answer the needs and aspirations of the population in order to lessen this risk. Prof. Marçal Grilo, another General Director for Higher Education recalled that the creation of the University appeared as a move of the Central Government to appease separatist demands (Interview). A similar view was expressed by Prof. A. Brotas, the Secretary of State for Higher Education, who saw the Azorean situation as extremely complex. In his view, the events of the 25 of April, the desire to do away with inequalities and the favourable support of regional development policies, influenced the development of the University. When faced .with Azorean demands, the Secretary of State for Higher Education realized that the time and circumstances were favourable. He compared the decision to high jumping. "To do it successfully you need to run fast. If you go slow, you can't jump high enough" (Interview). He realized that if the Ministry had called for a feasibility study, the results may have been prejudicial and he "would have had the risk of bumping into bureaucrats." Because he was impressed with the expertise which had gone into the planning by Enes and others, he made the decision to act outside the bureaucratic process.

The Secretary of State for Higher Education felt that the proposed education model was innovative and would surpass basic University installation requirements. The Sixth Provisional Government viewed the bachelor's degree as fundamental for the development of University programs and Brotas wished to tailor the bachelor's program to meet the regional needs. In order to give the planning official sanction, Brotas created a task force through Ministerial Directive 414/75. The people of the Azores, the Regional Junta and the Central Government believed that the establishment of a task force was a strong indication that a University had been created. After the creation of the task force, the political pressures stopped. However, as stated by R. Ferreira: "We continued to work perseveringly to gain time" (Interview). The Azoreans were living in a state of expectation. To fulfill those expectations, it was important that the task force complete the designated assignment and provide a legal document making the creation of the University irreversible. The poor political situation could at any time, "ruin an old ambition and as a result annul all developments to produce legislation" (F. Oliveira, interview).

Almond and Powell (1978) stated that policymaking is the pivotal stage in the political process. The Ministerial Directive may be interpreted as policymaking for it was at this point that political demands were translated into authoritative decisions. The process of interest articulation and aggregation had led up to policymaking. Though at the time of the Ministerial Directive, the Azores were not an autonomous region, there was an awareness that autonomy was imminent. Specific powers and responsibilities were delegated to the local government and agencies (Almond and Powell, 1978). In fact the Ministerial Directive listed a number of priorities for the local government and task force. The local government of the time -- the Regional Junta -- was centrally supervised though at this time there were the obvious beginning of a power shift. This was an indication of the power shift which was to occur with the recognition of the Azores as an autonomous region of Portugal in 1976.

Despite the Ministerial Directive, legally, the University was not yet created. However, with the creation of the task force the output had been determined. Dye (1978) stated that policy may be seen as system output. However, policy rarely relies on a single means or category of outputs. With the Ministerial Directive the four outputs presented by Almond and Powell (1978) -- extractive, distributive, regulatory, and symbolic -- seem to apply. Although all four categories seem to be present, symbolic and distributive outputs appear to have more weight than others.

The symbolic category of outputs seems to have been an aspect of the policy. Symbolic outputs include affirmation of values, displays of political symbols, and statements of policy intents (Almond and Powell, 1978). The symbolic aspect of the University for the Central Government was a gesture of consideration for Azorean aspirations and of democratization and decentralization. For the Azoreans, it was a symbol of emancipation and, for some, hope for independence.

In summary, with the change in the Central Government, following the April revolution, freedom of speech and political association were granted. In the Azores, the demands for autonomy and independence as well as for a University brought new political forces to the foreground. Dissatisfaction with communism led to the June 6, 1975 protest demonstration. As a result, greater autonomy was instituted in the form of a Regional Junta. This body responded to Azorean demands and values put forth by the various interest groups. Serving as an access channel to the Central Government, the Regional Junta persuaded Lisbon to develop a policy approving the formation of a task force to establish a "University Institute." Whereas previous attempts had failed, because of problems of political feasibility, this attempt was successful. This is partly due to the individual actors, Rego, Magalhães, Enes and others, who provided the leadership and personal efficacy as described by Gergen (1968) to influence the government policy. The Central Government, concerned about losing the Azores, answered both demands for political autonomy and a University. The fulfillment of Azorean values was being realized.

B. Policy Analysis

The second part of this chapter presents a policy analysis of the developments which took place after the Ministerial Directive up to the time of the legal creation of the University in January 1976. This section attempts to answer research question 3 and 4 about how the Central Government and Regional Junta influenced the policy process and about how the policy was determined.

This section analyzes the policy in a systems context, also considering Dror's view of megapolicy, metapolicy, and policy. Dror's optimal model is used as a means of examining metapolicymaking and policymaking. Post policymaking will be discussed in the next part of this chapter under the heading outputs and outcomes.

The Systems View

The open systems model of the political system (Almond and Powell, 1978) consists of inputs, conversion, outputs and outcomes. The social forces, discussed in the previous section, were inputs into the policymaking process which created the University of the Azores. The actual policymaking occurs during the conversion process.

It is during this conversion process that megapolicymaking, metapolicymaking, and policymaking may occur. Metapolicy, as already indicated, is the postures, assumptions, and main guidelines for specific policies. Metapolicy, which is policy on how to make policy, is a form of megapolicy, in that it provides guidelines for making specific policies. Though defined in numerous ways, one definition of policy is that it is an action decision. In examining megapolicy and policy in the creation of the University of the Azores, it has become obvious that policy at a higher level may become megapolicy for a lower level of government. The subordinate level of government uses the higher level policy as a guideline for developing its own policy. On the other hand, in the establishment of the University megapolicy was also prepared at a lower level in order to provide guidelines for a higher level decision.

Megapolicy

There seemed to be no awareness among the members of the task force of alternative styles of effecting policymaking nor of understanding that megapolicies ought to guide policy development. Nevertheless implicitly, megapolicies played a role in the establishment of the University.

In the creation of the University of the Azores, there were at least four megapolicies. The first megapolicy was declared by Victor Alves, one of the captains of the April revolution, immediately following the military coup. He stated that the nation would be guided by three D's -- to democratize, to decolonize, to develop. Captain Alves was the Minister of Education who Magalhães approached when relaying Azorean demands for a for a University. His attitude towards democracy, equality and social justice may well have had an influence on the decision to grant a University to the Azores. The Azoreans viewed the establishment of a University as a measure towards democratization, decolonization and especially development. The three D's were a nationwide megapolicy providing guidelines for national change. Though a policy at the level of the Central Government, it served as a megapolicy for the establishment of higher education in the Azores. It is this concept that is reflected in the openness to the notion of a University for the Azores.

The second megapolicy was contained in the preliminary proposal Prof. Enes prepared for meetings with General Magalhães and Prof. Brotas. In this document he described the philosophy, overall goals, resources and immediate tasks associated with establishing a University. Armed with this information Enes was able to make a convincing argument for the Azorean University. In joint consultation with the Secretary of State for Higher Education, Prof. Enes and J. Goulart worked out the Ministerial Directive. Some aspects of policy development were considered in the preliminary proposal and included in the Ministerial Directive. Other aspects of the policy development were formulated after the Ministerial Directive, that is, after the policy problem was put to the government. Though the preliminary proposal did not contain all of the twelve facets considered by Dror (1971:63-73), still it stood as a megapolicy and served as the basis for the Ministerial Directive.

The third megapolicy was the Ministerial Directive. It provided the guidelines and direction for the law which created the University. The fourth megapolicy was the law itself. Though it did not provide specific guidelines for future University policy, it provided the legal basis for policymaking, detailing the government posture and philosophy in creating the University.

Wherever the megapolicy gave directions for policymaking, it was also metapolicy. Thus, traces of metapolicy may occur in much megapolicy. Most certainly Enes preliminary proposal had elements of metapolicy. The Ministerial Directive was almost entirely metapolicy. However, very little metapolicy appeared in the law. The major policy which was formulated was law 5/76, which created the University. The law was short and lacked specifics. The specifics were decided by the task force and not included in the law. These specifics comprise the majority of the policy which was to guide the University. They were not enumerated in any one place, but were reported to the government as the decisions were made. The following discussion of policymaking will consider many of the policy decisions, though not all. It will examine the policies without regard to importance or sequence, but rather in the context of Dror's optimal model.

The Optimal Model

Phases of the policymaking process cannot be examined in isolation, but must be considered as a whole. Dror's (1983) optimal model is valuable in describing the development of policy during the period from the Ministerial Directive to the law.

In the creation of the University of the Azores, rational decision-making played a lesser role than the extrarational processes. Dror (1983:157) provided several reasons for the importance of the extrarational. The following apply in this situation. Limited resources, uncertain conditions, and a lack of knowledge placed restrictions on the degree to which the policymaking could be rational. The only real rational processes were Carneiro's study of student flows and Ferreira's collation of statistics of potential students. Most other decision-making was based on hunches and political feasibility. Also, some of the policymaking phases were best suited to extrarational processes, for example in considering alternatives for locating the campuses. Political needs and values were more important than economic considerations. Certainly a major reason for extrarational processes playing a greater role than rational was the time element. The limitations of time were forced on the members of the task force because of the general feelings that they must take advantage of the opportunity to have a University while it was politically feasible. Because of the time element, planned studies were minimal or were postponed until after the University began operation. In addition, the division of the task force between the Azores and Portugal made planning difficult. Roberto Carneiro and Prof. Larajeira, the rector of the New University of Lisbon who were both experienced planners, made positive contributions toward the development of the University and future planning, but both were located in Lisbon.

Metapolicymaking

Metapolicymaking consists of seven phases. The first phase is processing of values. About values, Prof. Espírito Santo, a Portuguese sociologist, said:

> When dominated by others they emerge sporadically. This is the case with colonized societies, in which, now and then, there are spurts of values which have been suppressed. These values never disappear. They may last for hundreds or thousands of years, always latent, and in moments of crises come to surface (O Jornal, 19 April 1985:4).

The expression of values played a key role in preparing the Azorean environment for policymaking. Beginning in 1938, the conferences made a major contribution to the articulation of values. Enes captured these values in his two proposals, which were based on the historical, cultural and economic aspirations, needs and values of the people. The first proposal provided the foundation for a motivational argument which Enes used to persuade Brotas of the historical need for a University (Brotas, 1981; interview). Dunn (1981) noted that argument from motivational policy claims are based on the assumptions that policy should be adopted because of the motivational power of intentions, goals or values.

In processing values, policymakers specify and order values as a guide for identifying problems and for policymaking. Dror (1983:165) indicated that values can only be priorized by value judgements, not by rational processes.

The decision to establish a "University Institute" rather than a "University Centre" resulted from making a judgement about Azorean values and realities (phase 2). Anything less than a University would not have been acceptable. In addition, calling it a University Institute rather than a University may have been a compromise which reflected reality. The processing of values must be balanced by the processing of reality for effective policymaking to occur.

Phase 3 is the processing of problems, which is the statement of problems in an action oriented form with an order of priority based on comparing reality and values. Dunn (1981) defined a policy problem as "an unrealized need, value or opportunity which, however identified, may be attained through public action." The major problem which brought about the creation of the University was put forward by developments during the critical year and backed up by social forces. These social forces were supported by changes in the general environment which made policymaking politically feasible and by historical and cultural values.

The Military Governor identified the problem as discontentment with the central government, exacerbated by the government's communist leanings. This discontentment would lead to continued agitation for independence. General Magalhães recognized values; he constructed a subjective image of the present and future reality; and, through an intuitive feeling for the situation, he formulated the problem. He had hunches about the possible solutions, one being greater autonomy for the islands, the other the creation of a University.

The second direction of the task force was to study the resources needed for the establishment of a University. This relates to phase 4, surveying, processing, and developing resources. Major concerns were shown for the future availability of resources, manpower and support services which were necessary to affect metapolicymaking as described in Dror's model.

Phase 5 is the designing, evaluating, and redesigning of the policymaking system. Three policymaking bodies directly related to the establishment of the University were set up: the Regional Junta, the task force and the installation commission. The aim of the members of the Central Government in setting up the Regional Junta following the June 1975 protest demonstrations was probably to reestablish control in the Azores. However, they had taken the first steps to establish a government in the islands. As leader of this policymaking body, Magalhães put in motion the process which led to the creation of the University. The result was the Ministerial Directive which set up the task force and an installation commission.

In phase 6, problems, values and resources are allocated to policy making units. This is a function of delegation. Magalhães gave Enes the responsibility of developing a plan for the University and Enes and Goulart took this plan to the Ministry of Education. Through the Ministerial Directive, the problem of establishing the University was further delegated to the task force. Subsequently, the local commission groups were given a mandate to study local needs, problems, and values. Carneiro and Laranjeira were given the responsibility to prepare the legislation for the creation of the University. Subproblems were allocated so as to maximize the creative capacities of the people involved in establishing the University.

The final phase of metapolicymaking is determining policymaking strategy. No explicit strategy was outlined, though in looking back one can see patterns developed for policymaking. For example, decisions were made on the basis of wide representation through public meetings and input from local commissions.

Policymaking

Policymaking according to Dror (1983) also consists of seven phases, the first of which (phase 8) is suballocating resources to the phases of policymaking so as to maximize their output. Dror (1983:176) indicated that this phase is parallel to that of the resource-allocating subphase of phase 6, except that rational methods, such as budgeting techniques, are relatively more developed. There is little evidence that a suballocation of resources occurred during the period of the task force operation probably because of the short time period and because many of the specific operational policy decisions were postponed or continued after the creation of the University.

Phases 9 and 10 are the establishment of operational goals and other significant values some order of priority. These phases elaborate on problems and values from the policymaking phases.

The local commissions received their terms of reference from the Ministerial Directive 57/75. Through their reports, goals were established and values and resources were allocated. These reports were also influential in the preparation of Enes' second proposal. In the reports, recommendations were made about types of programs, location, and resources. The inputs of these reports contributed to the establishment of some order of priority in goals and values.

In phase 10 extrarational processes can play an important role. The time factor and lack of experience of the participants in the local commissions and the task force contributed to the extrarationality. Phase 10 is interdependent with phase 6 (allocation of problems, values and resources) and phase 1 (processing values). Values recognized at this point include parochialism and rivalries between islands. This conflict of values dominated the debate about locating the University's departments. Had the policymaking at this stage been managed more by rationality and planning much of the conflict might have been avoided. Instead the decision for locating the departments was made on the basis of aspirations, emotions and intuitive judgements. The result was that several of the departments were relocated when the resources available became known and the population studies were completed.

Phases 11 through 14 deal with the selection and preparation of "good" policies. The notion of optimal implies more than "satisfactory." In these phases functions of rationality are considered together with extrarational factors. The stipulation of at least one "good" alternative involves a dynamic interdependence among phases 8, 12, 13 and 14. Rationality requires extensive research, including surveys of knowledge, "providing stimulating conditions as an important means of action" as well as identifying and recruiting creative manpower. All these dimensions are auxiliary to creativity and contribute to inventing alternatives upon which phase 11 is dependent.

Perhaps the best example of this policymaking process is in deciding on the location of the University. Numerous alternatives were proposed. Extensive debate was promoted. Costs and benefits were considered. Both rational and extrarational processes were involved. Finally, the decision was political which took into account the historical and social factors and ignored cost effectiveness. Extrarationality apparently won over rationality.

C. Policy Outcomes

This part of the present chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section uses Dror's optimal model to analyze the post-policymaking period associated with the creation of the University of the Azores. The second section describes institutional changes, namely the main changes occurring during the last years, research activities, extension and community services, and publications. The third section reports on the impact of the University to date as seen by interviewees and other observers.

Post-policymaking

Dror (1983:188-193) noted three phases in the post-policymaking stage. These are phase 15, motivating the executing of the policy, phase 16, executing the policy, and phase 17, evaluating policymaking after executing the policy. Phase 18, communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases, will not be enlarged upon except to note that communication and feedback were facilitated by the leadership of Prof. Enes and through the organizational structure of the task force, the local commissions, and the installation commission.

Dror (1983:189-190) notes the value of coalitions in phase 15, motivating the executing of the policy. The phase entails a decision to execute the policy, mobilizing support, and allocating resources.

Coalitions, in the usual sense, may not have existed in relation to the creation of the University of the Azores. Major support for the policy existed in Azorean society. Azoreans were committed to the notion of a University; they had made demands for an institution of higher education for decades, even centuries. All those involved in the creation of the University worked as though they were one person. This is not to suggest that there were not problems, as, for example, in the debate over the location of the University. These, however, were worked out and coalitions may have been operative at this level of problem solving.

The task force strategy to begin introductory courses in the fall of 1975 before the opening of the University was certainly a motivating factor in the execution of the policy. It heightened the anticipation of the population, assured their support, and prepared the first students. It lessened the chances of policy failure.

Certainly the establishment and functioning of the installation commission (CI) had a great effect on motivating and also executing the policy. The purpose of this body as well as its predecessor, the task force, was to insure the policy's execution.

In phase 16, through the executing of the policy, the policy is significantly shaped (Dror, 1983:191-192). This was accomplished, by "field operations" which actually required further decision-making of a tactical nature, which may be regarded as subpolicymaking. Here, the concrete definitions of the policy must be determined and the policy is often remade through necessary feedback. Thus the execution phase also implies some evaluation.

Part of the reshaping of the policy for the creation of the University of the Azores was implicit. Administrators and faculty soon realized that all aspirations for the University could not be fulfilled. It provided higher education opportunities for Azoreans, raised the standards of some people, and the cultural level of the islands, but no evidence exists, in the short term, of major improvements in economic and social conditions in the archipelago as a result of the institution.

Of course, as the policy was executed, the structure and the organization of the University were modified. These changes are noted later in this chapter.

However, the major reshaping of the policy occurred with the introduction of the "licenciatura" degrees.[33] The University Institute had opened with bachelor's programs, but the First Constitutional Government wished to return to the traditional University degrees at the University level.

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[33] A degree beyond the bachelor's level.

It was this reshaping of the policy which directed the University into the more traditional format, and away from practical, technical degrees.

Phase 17, evaluating policymaking, occurred partly in the reshaping of the policy in the execution phase, but more formally during an evaluation of the University Institute which took place in 1980. The phasing out of the bachelor's degree and introduction of the licenciate (licenciatura) was occurring. The evaluators were divided about whether the institution should accept University status or integrate polytechnical programs as a University Institute (Vaz Portugal, Portas, and Loutrie, 1980). Recommendations were made in other areas, but it was on this question, with the passage of Law 252/80 providing University status, that the future of the University was decided. The impact of this decision will be discussed further in the section which follows.

Institutional Developments

As described earlier the IUA was created by law 5/76 and was integrated in the legal system by law 402/73, which created the new universities before 1974.

The First Constitutional Government which replaced the communist dominated provisional governments, was invested in 1976. "The approach of the First Constitutional Government towards education [was] typically a reactive one, reflective rather than assertive. The key preoccupation [was] to balance the excess allowed during the former revolutionary period" (Carneiro, 1979:67). As a result a number of educational reforms initiated by the provisional governments were not implemented. Fortunately, the First Constitutional Government, for whatever reasons, supported the creation of the University Institute of the Azores. Otherwise the University would have gone the way of the College of Education which was initiated by the Veiga Simão reforms and abolished by the First Provisional Governmnent.

As in other universities in Portugal the bachelor's degree was recognized and laws were introduced to make the transition slowly to the licenciate, a four or five year program (Laws, 183/78; 36/78). The majority of students who had earned or were earning a bachelor's degree utilized that provision and concluded the "licencitura." This development may be seen in Table 10.

Up until 1980 the IUA was under the Ministry of Education with the same rights as those of the mainland universities. In 1980 the administration and supervision were transferred to the Autonomous Region of the Azores, and the IUA was named the University of the Azores (Law 252/80). This policy elaborated the terms of implementation and definition of authority for the two levels of government. The Central Government maintained control over academic standards while the Azorean Government was given responsibility for supervision and financial management. Other responsibilities were shared. In such matters the

Table 10

STUDENT POPULATION BY PROGRAM, YEAR AND DEGREE

PROGRAM	ACADEMIC YEAR 1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	DEGREE
Portuguese - French	38	34	29	10	3	-	-	-	B*
Portuguese - French	-	-	7	28	35	36	43	67	L*
Portuguese and French Studies	-	-	-	-	8	-	6	7	L
Portuguese - English	59	57	47	9	2	-	-	-	B
Portuguese - English	-	-	10	42	37	37	38	53	L
Portuguese and English Studies	-	-	-	-	12	8	14	21	L
History and Social Sciences	53	64	52	7	1	-	-	-	B
History and Social Sciences	-	-	23	45	80	73	107	99	L
History	-	-	-	18	22	47	62	82	L
History and Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	29	57	80	L
Geography - Natural Sciences	33	42	37	24	8	-	-	-	B
Natural Sciences - Geography	41	43	29	17	1	-	-	-	B
Biology and Geology	-	-	25	62	97	95	118	128	L

Continued

Table 10 (continued)

PROGRAM	ACADEMIC YEAR 1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	DEGREE
Mathematics - Physics - Chemistry	30	31	24	19	-	-	-	-	B
Mathematics - Physics - Chemistry	-	-	-	-	18	17	7	-	L
Physics - Chemistry - Mathematics	10	12	12	11	1	-	7	-	B
Physics - Chemistry - Mathematics	-	-	-	-	16	4	-	-	L
Mathematics	-	-	10	24	54	46	43	68	L
Business and Accounting	82	64	52	17	-	-	-	-	B
Business Administration	-	-	36	39	45	52	61	100	L
Agriculture	14	9	8	1	2	-	-	-	B
Animal Production	44	17	17	-	-	-	-	-	B
Agrarian Sciences (Animal Production and Agriculture)	-	-	20	46	51	69	64	63	L
Total	404	373	438	419	493	532	672	768	

B* = Bachelor
L* = Licenciatura

Source: Rector's Report, 1982; Academic Services, 1984.

local government was to make recommendations for approval by Lisbon.

The Central Government reserved the right to make legislation related to faculty careers, academic degrees, equivalency to foreign degrees, University access, educational evaluation and administrative structures.

Law 252/80 gave the following responsibilities to the Autonomous Region of the Azores: (1) to provide the human and physical resources needed for the maintenance and development of the University of the Azores, (2) to support the establishment of other institutions of higher education in the Azores, (3) to guarantee financial assistance to all students seeking higher education, (4) to provide incentives for faculty to settle permanently in the region as well as to stimulate the entrance of graduates into University careers. Other responsibilities given exclusively to the Autonomous Region of the Azores were: (1) the approval of the budgets and supervision of the financial management, (2) the hiring and firing of auxiliary personnel, (3) the provision of physical resources which will facilitate the functioning and development of the University, and (4) the supervision of the social services of the University.

Other responsibilities were to be shared by both the Central Government and the Regional Government. They included: (1) the approval of the statute of the University of the Azores, (2) the creation, restructuring and elimination of programs of national character, (3) the formation and alteration of new administrative, pedagogical, social and research structures, (4) the approval of annual development plans for the University of the Azores, (5) the determination of the number of students to be admitted in programs of a national character, and (6) the appointment of the rector, vice rector and members of the installation commission.

Since the University's opening in 1976, the departments have undergone changes. Five new departments and ten centres were added. Some activities (i.e. Applied Ecology) originally dependent on the rector's office were reorganized and became part of the Department of Biology. The rector's office housed programs which, at the beginning were not affiliated with any specific department. Applied Ecology is an example. Another is the Centre for Azorean Studies, which is now under the Department of History.

As indicated previously the IUA offered the bachelor's program initially, which started its transition in 1978 to the licenciate. From 1976 to 1980, some bachelor's programs were discontinued, being replaced, with suitable modifications by the licenciate as seen in Table 10. Following the passage of law 36/78 the following licenciate programs were introduced at the University.

a. Business Administration
b. Agrarian Sciences(agriculture and animal production)
c. Teacher Education
d. Biology and Geology

e. History and Philosophy

f. History and Social Sciences

g. Mathematics

h. Portuguese and French

i. Portuguese and English

j. Physics and Chemistry

Teacher education provides teacher training for all departments except Agrarian Sciences and Business Administration. In 1980 a search for students from mainland Portugal started to increase the student population so that enrollment increased from between 400 and 500 during the period from 1976 to 1980, to over 900 by 1984/1985. Table 11 shows the number of students by department for the year 1984/1985 and the total number of teachers for that year. Table 6, provided earlier, provides similar data for the University's opening year. Table 12 shows the location of Administration, Academic Departments and Centres in 1981/1982. Corresponding information for the opening year is provided in Table 5. An organizational chart for 1984/1985 is also provided in Figure 4 which may be contrasted with Figure 3 to reveal the institutional changes which occurred from 1976 to 1985.

A considerable amount of research has been undertaken, some of which was published (See Appendix C for a list). Several of the studies were undertaken as doctoral dissertations while others were master's theses. Most of the studies were completed in the region and seem to support

Table 11

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS
IN 1984/1985

DEPARTMENT	STUDENTS	TEACHERS**
Biology and Geology	144	
History and Social Sciences	131	
Business Administration	107	
History and Philosophy	97	
History	92	
Agrarian Sciences (Agriculture and Animal Production)	117	
Languages and Modern Literature	158	
Mathematics	72	
Teacher Education*	92	
Total	918	163

Source: Acoriano Oriental, 9 January 1985

* Students are dispersed mostly in other disciplines

** The number of teachers within each department was not available in this source

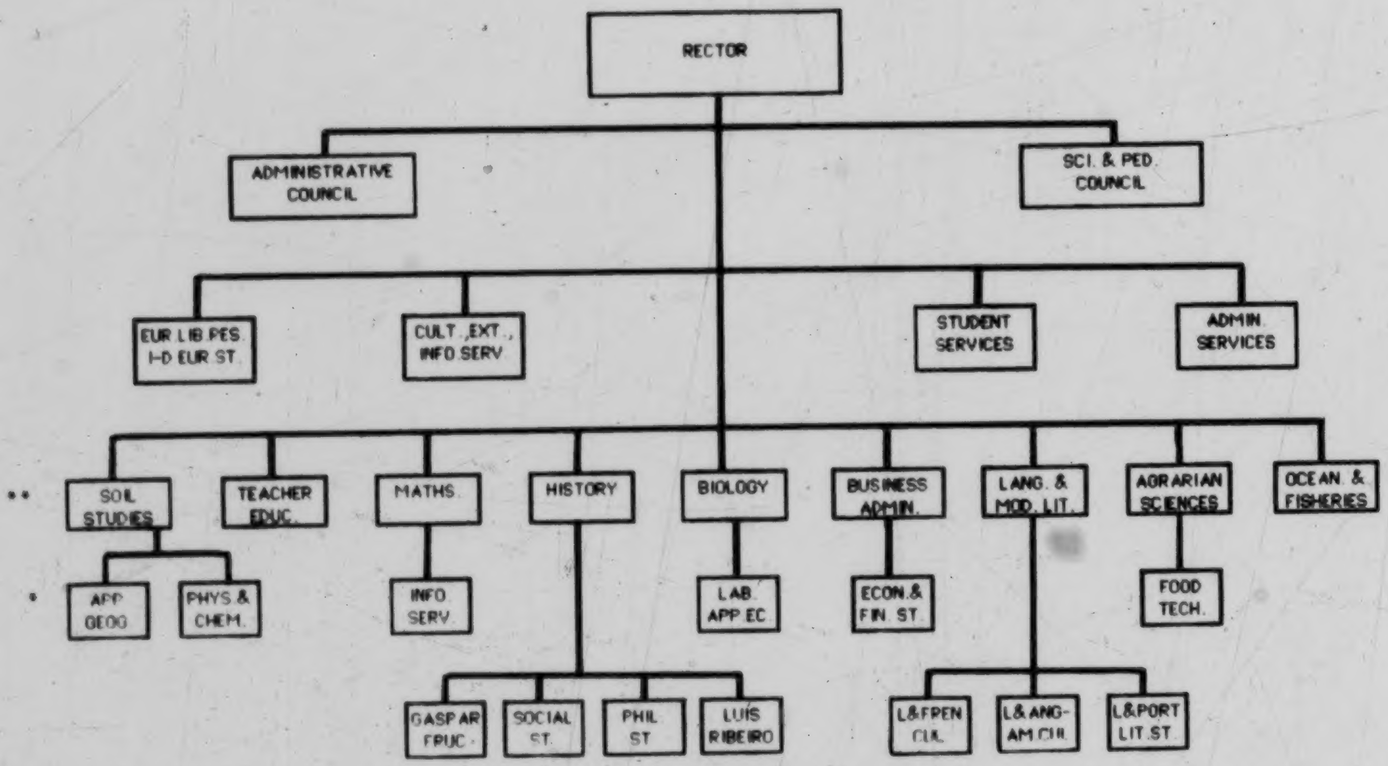
Table 12

LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATION, ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS AND CENTRES IN 1981/82

ISLAND	ADMINISTRATION	ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS	CENTRES
São Miguel (Ponta Delgada)	Rector's Office - Student Services - Cultural Extension and Puplications - European Library Resources - Interdepartmental European Studies	Teacher Education Business Administration	Economic and Finance Studies
		Biology Soil Sciences	Lab. of Applied Ecology Applied Geography Physics and Chemistry
		History	Dr. Gaspar Fructuoso Social Studies Philosophy Studies Dr. Luis Ribeiro
		Languages and Modern Literature	Language and French Culture Language and Anglo-American Culture Language and Portuguese Literature Studies
		Mathematics	Information Systems
Terceira (Angra do Heroísmo)		Agrarian Sciences (Agriculture and Animal Production)	Food Technology
Faial (Horta)		Oceanography and Fisheries*	

* Department mainly oriented to research, but sharing teaching responsibilities

Source: Rector's Report, IUA, Ponta Delgada, October 1982


RECTOR
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
SCI. & PED. COUNCIL
EUR. LIB. PES. I-D EUR. ST.
CULT., EXT., INFO. SERV.
STUDENT SERVICES
ADMIN. SERVICES
**
SOIL STUDIES
TEACHER EDUC.
MATHS.
HISTORY
BIOLOGY
BUSINESS ADMIN.
LANG. & MOD. LIT.
AGRARIAN SCIENCES
OCEAN. & FISHERIES
*
APP. GEOG.
PHYS. & CHEM.
INFO. SERV.
LAB. APP. EC.
ECON. & FIN. ST.
FOOD TECH.
GASPAR FRUC.
SOCIAL ST.
PHIL. ST.
LUIS RIBEIRO
L&FREN. CUL.
L&ANG-AM. CUL.
L&PORT. LIT. ST.

** Department
* Centre

Fig. 4 University of the Azores: Organizational Chart (1985)
Source: Based on interview with Rector (Açoriano Oriental, 9 Jan. 1985)

the well-being and wealth of the region, through the creation of new knowledge.

Impact of the University

With the creation of the University Institute by law 5/76, one of the government's aims was the regionalization of the higher education process. Various regions of the nation were provided with units of teaching, research, cultural extension and community services making them better able to respond to regional development needs as well as to democratization. This law also recognized that the character of the islands deserved specific solutions in consideration of the economic and social realities of the archipelago.

The Regional Government, as expressed through one political leader, regarded the University as an instrument contributing to the politics and culture of the Azores. Consequently, the University was perceived as an indispensable institution in fulfilling the cultural, socio-economic and political aspirations of the Azoreans. However, Azorean hopes may have been unrealistic.

Although some services were provided as planned, some interviewees remarked that the University should pay more attention to the expectations expressed during the planning stages. A few respondents felt that the University was too closed to the community and to innovation. They expressed their gratitude to the pioneers who worked on the development of the University but questioned the traditional structure, the conservative mentality and the classic thought which dominated European universities, and has crept into the University of the Azores. They advocated the adaptation of a program of studies more suited to meet the real needs of the archipelago. In this context, Serra et al. (1982) indicated that there is the notion that the University will facilitate the economic development of a region and increase its cultural level. They indicated that, in the beginning, these institutions desired to participate in economic development. However, they pointed out that they soon begin to lose sight of these goals and turned to what the old universities had been doing -- producing graduates and unemployment.

Miller Guerra (1981) and Marçal Grilo (1981) complained that the newly founded universities did not seem to be the expected innovators. They had hoped for a new educational model, but instead the universities replicated (more or less) the traditional model.

Several respondents felt that the Azores should have received a polytechnical institution rather than a University. They felt that technicians trained outside the University setting would be more effective than University graduates. It was believed that a polytechnical institution would produce graduates more suited to the needs of the region. The Azorean people wanted an institution of higher education, but overlooked the idea of a polytechnical institution and asked for a University. This was not unusual as many provinces in Portugal asked for universities following the military coup. This prompted one respondent to state that the Portuguese were "macrocephalous" in regards to agricultural education. He indicated that the ratio of polytechnical students to University students in the agricultural field is 1 to 18 respectively. The tremendous need for agricultural teaching in all islands led another interviewee to point out that the Azores would have been better served by secondary and post-secondary agricultural education at the polytechnical level. Others felt that such a plan would have had much more impact at the producer, farmer and consumer level.

Grilo, an ex-Director of Higher Education, unsure of the benefits of the University and their impact on the community, wondered if the Azores would have been better served by a combined post-secondary institution (University and polytechnical institute) making it "sui generis" in the Portuguese higher education system (Interview). This view was shared by Enes (Interview) and Machado Pires who believed in a form of association with new coming higher education institutions (Açoriano Oriental, 9 January 1985).

Brotas observed that "the mentality of Portuguese society was such that they were incapable of planning for their children's education at institutions other than the University." Instead, he said, the nation could benefit from polytechnical education. This was a reason for his approval of the bachelor's programs at the University of the Azores, rather than the traditional four or five year "licenciatura" degree. "Licenciatura" programs with a national character would be implemented in the future. The Azorean region lent itself to programs in oceanography, fisheries and related areas, placing it in a unique and respectable position in the Portuguese higher education system. Furthermore, the region could welcome national graduate students as well as international research endeavours linked to foreign universities, thereby overcoming a major fault in the higher education system, the lack of post graduate programs designed for research (Serra et al., 1982).

Prof. Enes, the rector of the University, at the opening of the campus on the island of Terceira supported this view by stating that the University would give priority to research plans in the agriculture and fisheries sectors, as they were seen as the basis for the archipelago's economy. He also remarked that the limitations of the job market for prospective technicians would allow for the transfer of manpower "to countries of Portuguese idiom" (Correio dos Açores, 30 July 1976). University projects in the areas of finance, agriculture and fisheries were reported as future positive contributions to regional development.

On other hand, some respondents saw the lack of a global developmental plan as having a negative effect on the

University and on research. The lack of such a plan made it difficult to determine exactly what professionals and programs were needed. Other respondents felt that the University was too young to have had any impact on the region, not only in the area of institutional life, but in the socio-economic sphere as well. The University surpassed the expectations of an economic leader in the field of Business Administration, but he found the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries to be severely lacking. Once again the lack of a global plan was thought to limit the initial impact of the University. He felt that it would be wrong to blame the University for the underdevelopment of agriculture and fisheries as the reasons for this were more complex.

Some respondents, who elaborated on the developments in the departments of Agriculture and Animal Production, indicated the time factor had to be considered, as the need for equipment delayed development. The urgency in opening these departments led to some deficiencies including the lack of teaching staff. Although less extreme, these deficiencies are still felt today. American intervention in the form of equipment was not followed by human resources. Holland however provided both and as a result their help was received in a more positive manner.[34]

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[34] Some faculty members have earned post-graduate degrees in those areas at universities in the United States and Holland.

A small group of respondents observed that the external contacts, developed in the early years of the University, were starting to disappear. The enthusiasm of foreign institutions to participate in the structure, organization and problems of the Azorean University was gradually waning. One respondent saw this as a type of regression and felt that it was very important to reinforce foreign contacts. This would help to transform the University of the Azores into an institution equal to any other in the nation. The University could gain more assistance by taking greater advantage of the American interest in the Azores' geostrategical position.

Some respondents advocated further contributions towards the conciliation and identification of Azorean culture. Others, however, were satisfied with the research already done in the humanities and saw it as a fundamental step towards preserving the names and work of Azorean historians and ethnographers.

Grilo suggested that, because of insularity, the Azores would always have cultural peculiarities. These he felt should be acknowledged through study (Interview). One respondent suggested research on cultural changes, because, as he said, the Azores "faces two population extracts." The Azores, due to its geographic position in the Atlantic, had developed contacts with North America. This led to the belief that the number of Azoreans living outside of the archipelago might have introduced certain cultural changes to the general population.[33] Some saw emigration as a constant and suggested that the University increase its course offerings to Azorean-Americans.[34]

Considering the distance between the islands as well as the number of inhabitants, some respondents felt that the extension of cultural and community services presented a great challenge. During the planning process, the group had visualized a University which would systematically take advantage of the audiovisual means available (Açores, 22 October 1975). Several respondents were disappointed by the University's failure to maximize the use of these methods.

The majority of respondents saw the dispersion of the University over three islands as a barrier to development. Without such dispersion the global goals of the institution could have been optimized. One member of the installation commission had requested that the University be localized and confined to one island due to financial difficulties. The chairman of the CI at the time, indicated that the sociological and political problems that led to the division of the three campuses still existed. As a result it would not be feasible to centralize the University. Financial problems would have to be overcome by other means (Minutes of the CI meetings, 27 August 1976).

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[33] He gave the example of a teacher who asked a pupil where Lisbon was located. The child did not know, but knew the location of Boston -- a city from which the child was receiving post cards and letters.

[34] The University of the Azores has offered summer courses in Portuguese and Azorean history.

Speaking at the opening ceremonies of the first day of classes, Prof. Enes, as the first University rector, encouraged students to view the institution as whole, despite its dispersion through the three islands. This could be done, not only because of its juridical and institutional identity but also by the cooperation and integration of the structures and activities of its members (Correio dos Açores, 20 October 1976).

Eight years later the limitations of dispersed a University were still recognized (Machado Pires, 1983). The lack of centralization was seen as a largely political decision. One respondent felt that that such a decision would continue to feed the lack of Azorean unity. Without political support for a central campus, the disadvantages of defusion would continue to exist.

Roberto Carneiro noted the difficulties encountered because of an oversupply of graduates beyond job market needs. Teachers would be needed, while University graduates in the disciplines of agriculture and business administration would have difficulties finding work as the restricted local economy had a limited capacity to generate jobs in those areas. Carneiro defended a policy of institutional flexibility connected with the concrete needs of the archipelago. Such flexibility could be achieved through "project centres," rather than institutionalized departments. With traditional institutionalization, research is developed to maintain departments and not to meet the societal needs. Faculty members are contracted to departments. With the "project centre" concept, programs are supported only as long as society has needs for its graduates and research. The recent decision of the University to impose quotas in the licenciate in History and Social Sciences is a step in that direction. It will reduce the unemployement of University graduates (Açoriano Oriental, 9 January 1985).

A complementary policy that would provide the first years of transfer programs was advocated by a number of respondents. Within this area, courses leading to programs such as medicine, law and engineering should be considered. Students would then leave the University with the equivalent of a Junior College degree and continue their studies at other universities.

The respondents acknowledged that the University of the Azores as a part of a small, poorly populated and relatively isolated territory, would always be restricted in its development. Costs and a poor job market would make it difficult to get the desired faculty. Many saw the future of the institution in research and cultural awareness. They felt that the "negative" aspects of smallness and low enrollment could be advantages if channeled into high quality research in the fields of geothermy, oceanography and fisheries.

In summary, the University of the Azores, though fulfilling many of the basic needs and values of the islands, did not satisfy all hopes of the Azoreans. It suffered from what Stinchcombe (1965:147-149) described as the "liability of newness." He noted that new organizations are more likely to survive than are new organizational forms. Similarly, new organizations, and more particularly new organizational forms, have a higher organizational deathrate than old organizations or old organizational forms. The University of the Azores was established as a new organization. As such it adapted, it took on more of the characteristics of the traditional University, perhaps in order to survive.

Nevertheless, Machado Pires (1983), a faculty member of the University since its opening, at his investiture as the second rector, was optimistic about the future of the University. He viewed the past as an "affirmation" of the University's role, while recognizing the realities of its limitations. He expressed confidence in its future contributions to Azorean society, while warning that maintenance of the University in an insular region would require constant efforts in terms of dynamics, relationships and dedication.

Summary

In this chapter the findings were discussed in three parts. The first analyzed the social forces which influenced the creation of the University. Values and political feasibility were considered important in this analysis. The second analyzed the policy which established the University. It considered the policy in a systems context and used Dror's optimal model as a means of examination. The third part looked at the outcomes and impact of the University.

Chapter IX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides a summary of the study and lists a number of conclusions and recommendations arising from the findings. The summary describes the creation of the University of the Azores and is organized under statements of the five research questions. Some further insights are offered about the policy decision which created the University in terms of incrementalism, motivating factors, symbolic performance, speed, and achievement of goals. In addition, a statement is made about the value of the conceptual framework in studying policy, in particular the creation of the University of the Azores. The recommendations include suggested new directions for the University, possible future research in higher education in the Azores and implications for educational administration.

A. Summary

The purpose of this study was to identify, describe and analyze the factors associated with the creation of the University of the Azores.

The inquiry was guided by five research questions and a conceptual framework was derived from the literature on political systems theory and policy science. Specifically, the conceptual framework used in this study (Fig. 1) was an adaptation of the political model of Almond and Powell (1978:285), combined with the conception of general environment proposed by Hall (1977:304) and the phases of the optimal model enunciated by Dror (1983:163).

The socio-political context, integrating the history of Portugal in relation to educational developments in the Azores, was also presented.

The case study methodology was used in conducting the inquiry. The "reputational" approach was employed to identify the important actors associated with the creation of the University. In most instances these actors were representing organizations or interest groups. An interview technique which allowed respondents to express their views in an informal and relaxed manner was used. Documents were gathered to supplement the interview material. Based on the review of the documents and the interviews, conclusions were formulated as presented in the next section.

B. Conclusions

In the body of this report, events have been described in historical sequence as the "story" of the University unfolded in a policy analysis framework. In this section, the five research questions are restated and answered concisely, after which some concluding observations are made.

1. What conditions (social, cultural, economic, political,

legal, ecological and demographic) prior to 1974 might have influenced higher education in the Azores?

The major environmental conditions influencing higher education prior to 1974 were demographic, economic and political, in that order. The demographic fact of insularity explains much of the behaviour of the Azorean people. For centuries they have been treated as a colony and as a resource by mainland Portugal. This has left them with feelings of bitterness and second class citizenship. Related to these feelings was a depressed economy relative to the rest of the nation and a lack of political potency in the established power structures of Portugal. All of these conditions fueled the desire for autonomy and an independent economy which the islanders felt would leave greater wealth at their disposal.

2. How did different individuals and interest groups articulate their demands from 1974 to the policy decision which created the University in 1975?

Demands for a University were part of the more inclusive demands for self-determination articulated for the first time by the MAPA on June 6, 1974 following the military coup. These demands were expressed again in conjunction with the protest demonstration of June 6, 1975 which was an expression of the political dissatisfaction of Azoreans over the military-communist regime. This demonstration fueled the Azoreans' desire to separate from the rest of Portugal.

Within this context, the desire for a private University was articulated by a private group which had connections with the United States and the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Angra, with the endorsement of the Presbyterial Council, the Patriarch of Lisbon and the Papal Nuncio, expressed the view that the University could preserve and support Christian values in the archipelago.

Because of the protest demonstration of June 6, 1975, a Regional Junta was established in the Azores. The President of this government body, General Magalhães, became aware of the demands for a University and set in motion procedures for its establishment.

3. How did the regional and central governments influence the process which led to the creation of the University?

As indicated above, the process was influenced firstly by the President of the Regional Junta (Military Governor) who, because of his beliefs about national unity, gave full support for the establishment of the University as a means of defusing separatist demands and achieving harmony between the Azores and Portugal. Secondly, the process was influenced by the Central Government which, after initial vacillation and reluctance, agreed to the demands of the Military Governor. The Central Government with its concerns for social development, propelled by the new democratic ideals of the revolution, then looked favorably upon the creation of a higher education institution.

4. How was the policy to create the University determined?

At first the Central Government proposed an outreach centre of a mainland University but, faced with an ultimatum by the President of the Regional Junta, the government's education officials agreed to create a University Institute. After consulting with the representatives of the Regional Junta, Prof. Enes and J. Goulart, the Central Government developed Ministerial Directive 414 of October 14, 1975 which created a task force for the establishment of the Azorean University Institute. The policy gave few directions for implementation. Rather, decisions for implementation, including funding, were made in the Azores initially by the task force and later by the installation commission. After a short planning period, the Azorean University Institute (University of the Azores) was created by law 5 passed on January 9, 1976.

5. What were the policy outcomes following the establishment of the Azorean University Institute in 1976?

One aim in establishing the University was to allow opportunity for equal access to students whose poor financial situation would not permit them to attend universities in mainland Portugal. Another aim was to support economic and socio-cultural development in the

Azores. Over the years many students have attended the University and following completion of their programs, have settled in the Azores, thereby contributing to the overall development of the archipelago. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to evaluate the impact that the University has had on the Azores. A number of the University's achievements and deficiencies provide a tentative basis for drawing conclusions about its success in supporting Azorean development.

Though it has been less than a decade since the creation of the University, there is obvious institutional growth. The number of University departments and centres has increased. The organizational structure has changed. The University has also made a contribution to teacher education for secondary teachers, an area of great need. The business administration department has successfuly provided graduates for administration. Unfortunately, few students have been drawn to studies in agriculture and, according to some respondents, the agriculture program has made few visible contributions. Appendix C provides a list of the University activities in many areas.

Overall Conclusion

Having answered the research questions, the writer now proposes a review of the facts as a conceptual whole. In retrospect, the study can be seen to be consistent with the following rationale:

Historians can study the conditions under which people lived through observation and examination of records. Likewise they can study the actions and expressions of individuals and groups through a review of available records and by conducting interviews. However, linking conditions to actions is a speculative exercise which can be done through the ascription of social forces and values. Forces and values are intangibles which cannot be studied directly but can only be assumed to exist. The relationships among these concepts are shown in the following diagram (Fig. 5).

This study has described, in a factual manner, based on the information collected, as facts, the conditions and actions that were central to the policy that created the University of the Azores, but it can only be speculative with respect to the forces and values which lie behind this policy.

What then of these forces and values? The writer proposes that the values of the Azorean people (especially political and economic emancipation) set an historical path that inevitably led to the creation of some form of higher education institution in the Azores. However, the particular form (i.e. University) was probably an accident of history resulting from the particular set of forces that happened to arise during the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, the influence of the military coup of April 25, 1974 and the consequent developments triggered a chain of

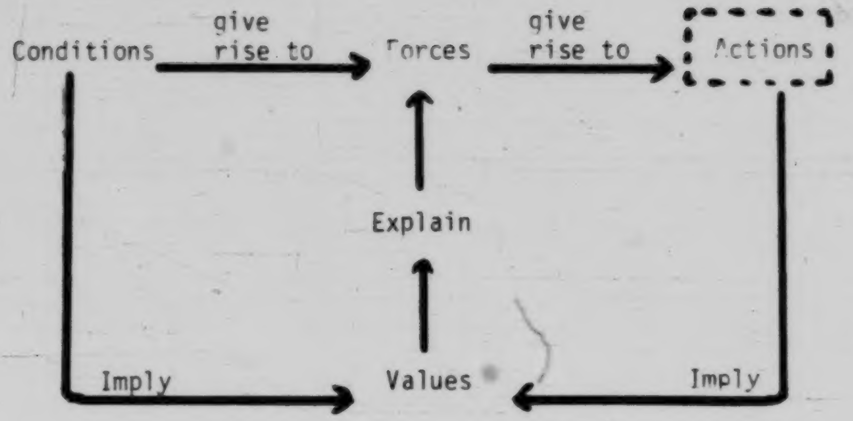
Conditions
give rise to
Forces
give rise to
Actions
Explain
Imply
Values
Imply

Fig.5

Diagram of Action-Relevant Factors

events which ultimately determined the creation of the University.

Reflections on the Analysis

In this section, some further thoughts beyond those specifically associated with the research questions are provided. The question as to whether history unfolds along predetermined lines or as a series of random accidents is discussed. Consideration is also given to whether the decision to create the University of the Azores was primarily political or educational, to the role of symbolic performance in the decision, and to the time factor in the policymaking. Finally, some insights about the fulfillment of Azorean aspirations are presented.

A college of education was created previous to the military coup on April 25, 1974. From an incrementalist viewpoint of organizations, once the college of education was created, through normal evolution, a University might have been established in the future. However, its realization would probably have taken much longer had the military coup not taken place.

It seems that the University was created in part to fulfill the economic and developmental desires of the Azoreans. A college of education alone would not have achieved this aim. Apparently, a University, or at least a polytechnical institute, would have been required to fulfill these desires. One wonders then, if a polytechnical institute had been created, whether the establishment of a University would have been likely, in the near future. Probably not.

Even though it was the military coup of 1974 which made the creation of the University politically feasible, historical antecedents also played a great role in the decision. The islands had long desired a higher education institution as a means for economic and cultural development. The Regional Junta was receptive to the wishes of the Azorean people and recognized the value of the University as a means for bringing about improvements on the islands. Partly because of these historical antecedents, the University was created and from that viewpoint the decision was incremental. Yet the change in government and new political environment played an important part in the immediate fulfillment of Azorean dreams for an institution of higher education.

An examination of the data suggests that the decision was more political than educational. Portugal was concerned about separatist demands for independence for the Azores. The importance of the Azores as a strategic base had increased since the loss of the country's African colonies. Also, during the decades following the Second World War, about 100,000 Azoreans emigrated to the United States and Canada. The effects of this emigration were great in creating an awareness of the disadvantaging conditions in the archipelago. In addition, the emigrants sent their savings home to Azorean family members. This money and the rent for military bases in the Azores was considered an important part of the Portuguese GNP. The rents benefited the Portuguese government and not the Azorean people. The close ties to America and the Catholic religious affiliation of the peole fueled feelings of dissatisfaction with the communist government. This resulted in the June 6, 1975 protest demonstration. Thus, the decision to create the University seemed to be primarily a political decision designed to meet the educational demands of Azoreans and thereby quell, in part, their separatist demands. Still, the historical antecedents were both political and educational. Because of the close association between these two sets of forces it is difficult to identify which was the stronger force.

A further aspect of the question concerning whether the decision was political or educational relates to the distribution of benefits. For Lisbon the benefits were political; for the Azores the benefits were primarily educational. It becomes very difficult to separate the educational aspects of the decision from the political, albeit at any time government decisions are political. In the period immediately preceding the decision to create the University of the Azores, both parties perceived benefits for themselves in such a decision and both took advantage of the political opportunity to support this decision.

It was in the interest of the Central Government to maintain and perpetuate symbolic performance through policy outputs. Without symbolic performance, a nation would dissolve. Such was the situation in the Azores. Had the central government not provided symbolic outputs in the form of the creation of the University and thereby demonstrating that regional autonomy was possible within the new Portuguese government structures, Azoreans would likely, have continued to agitate for independence. Apparently, this was the reason behind the quick response to the demands for a University by both the Regional Junta in the Azores and the Portuguese government. Also, had the Central Government not responded as it did to the Azorean demands, it would have denied its national philosophy referred to in its megapolicy for democratization and development.

Because of the time factor and also because the decision was political, extrarational rather than rational decision making processes seemed to play the greater role in the policy to create a University. Little time for needs assessement and planning was available prior to the creation of the University and the beginning of formal classes. For this reason, implementation decisions were made with little "hard" data for planning purposes.

A comparison between the law which created the college of education in 1973 and the one which established the University in 1975 showed a lack of detail concerning implementation procedures in the later instance. The

Ministry of Education, under Veiga Simão, was more stable than that under the new military regime. Rational processes thus played a greater role in the earlier decision. Also, the Veiga Simão reforms may have been more clearly educational rather than political.

In addition, the short planning time for the University and the political environment in Portugal left implementation as primarily a responsibility of the Azoreans rather than of the Central Government. Perhaps this was fortunate because, when left to the Central Government, the earlier decision to establish a college of education was never implemented.

The time factor, the lack of planning, and the use of extrarational decision making, particularly for political reasons, may have resulted in a decision which was less than optimal. Serious consideration should have been given to a polytechnical institution as a viable alternative. Also, locating the University at three sites has been costly. Had systematic planning been allowed to override parochialism in this decision, an alternative approach might have been taken.

Finally, a number of insights related to the fulfillment of the Azorean aspirations are presented. To date the University of the Azores, though fulfilling many of the basic needs and values of the islands, has not satisfied all the hopes of the Azoreans. The need for development in agriculture is used to illustrate further the findings associated with the fifth question. As mentioned in the body of this study, the need for agricultural development was expressed in almost every cultural and political event from the 30s to the 70s. This need may even be traced back to the "Plan of Studies" and the desires for an agricultural school expressed towards the end of the nineteenth century. Failure to offer programs in agricultural sciences at the polytechnical level for students who have no capacity for, or interest in, University studies may explain comments made by some interviewees.

Other programs at the polytechnical level are needed as well and are still not available in the islands. Traditionally, universities have not trained elementary teachers and though there is a normal school in the islands, there is a continuing need for additional elementary teacher education programs.

The University alone cannot fulfill Azorean needs and desires in the field of higher education. Polytechnical education is needed to facilitate development in the islands. This must be worked out by the Regional Government. Brotas had agreed with a higher education institution including polytechnical education, but instead the University of the Azores has developed along the same lines as those in mainland Portugal. As such, perhaps the University's development has been more elitist than practical.

In the University of the Azores, in the area of cultural development, much has been done through studies and education. Still more needs to be done, particularly in encouraging uniquely Azorean arts and writings. Courses in Azorean literature and the history of Azorean education would be helpful. More consideration should be given to those characteristics which have developed because of insularity and others because of ties to North America.

Value of the Conceptual Framework

Through the data analysis, the conceptual framework was found to apply well to the case study. In addition, Dror's optimal model and other policy science views were of considerable importance in developing prospective viewpoints.

The conceptual framework helped to organize the events in the form of inputs, conversion, outputs and outcomes. It also assisted in showing how events were a consequence of environmental conditions. In addition, the use of Dror's optimal model permitted a prospective examination and analysis of the overall policy process through a retrospective case study.

The use of Dror's optimal model also pointed out some of the weaknesses associated with policymaking under constraints of time and political factors. The decision to create a University was not necessarily the best one, but rather was a politically expedient decision.

C. Recommendations

The following recommendations concerning new directions for the University of the Azores and higher education in Portugal arise in consideration of the findings and conclusions of the study.

1. An institution combining University with polytechnical programs might present a challenge for administration, but it would provide the resource requirements for development in the islands which the University is not now providing. A comprehensive institution would have the advantage of pooling resources and thereby costing less to run than separate institutions. The University should engage in studies to determine the needs for such programs and the interest of government in such an endeavour.
2. The concept of the University project centre, as proposed by an interviewee, should be considered as a means of meeting short-term educational and job market requirements.
3. Exchange programs with foreign universities would provide greater educational opportunities for students. Because of the large Azorean community in the United States and Canada and its influence on Azorean culture, exchange programs with universities in these countries would be worthwhile.
4. Postgraduate programs would be worthwhile in fields for which the Azores provides a unique environment. For

example, exceptional research opportunities would be available in oceanography and fisheries as well as vulcanology and geology. These and other kinds of activities, such as engineering and biology, would be of particular interest and value to the Azores, to the rest of Portugal and to other countries.

5. A policy of complementarity with mainland universities should be adopted where course credits are transferable at the national level. Examples, some of which have previously been proposed but never implemented, are the first years of medicine, dentistry, social sciences and engineering. Also, exchange course credits with foreign universities should be investigated.
6. Since the division of the campus into three locations has become an economic burden, and since emotional factors may not play the role they did in earlier years, any future development concerning the location of public services should be devoid of political participation in order to come to more rational decisions from an administrative point of view.

Future Studies

Studies of historical and comparative perspectives of issues are needed to provide a broad view of public policy, and to facilitate planning.

The following studies would be valuable in future University and educational planning in the Azores.

1. The number of Azorean students attending mainland and other universities and types of programs taken need to be compared to the numbers and programs pursued prior to 1974. For example, it has been noted that during 1966-67, 1,400 students from Madeira and the Azores were attending University in Portugal. In 1984-85, only about 500 students from the Azores attended the University of the Azores while another 500 come from elsewhere. The availability of detailed figures such as these would be of assistance in planning ways of enticing more students to study in the Azores.
2. A longitudinal study to follow up on graduates of the University would answer questions about whether the graduates are in positions for which they were prepared. In addition, such a study would answer questions about whether the University is providing graduates with the kinds of skills necessary for fulfilling the jobs needs in the market place, including those of community leaders in business, the professions, and government.
3. A study of the students who have attended and are now attending the University should provide information about age, sex, religion, social class, background, and parents' education, which would facilitate institutional and program planning.
4. The University's effect on the surrounding community in relation to the size of the institution and the nature of the society should be examined.

5. The influence of the University on change in society should be studied. Research on the intellectual context of the University and on the ideas and concepts that inform societal issues should be included.
6. Studies are needed on the University's effect on Azorean development and on future ways the University can assist in development.
7. Studies from the policy science perspective, mainly concerned with the practice and improvement of policymaking in Portugal, would assist in government planning and decision making.
8. Studies which integrate politics and public policy would also assist in planning and decision making in education under political instability.

Implications for Educational Administration

The following implications for educational administrators are suggested from the study:

1. Educational administrators need to be aware of the nature of the society, its flows, values and social forces since all of these factors play a part in policymaking. A greater awareness of these factors may improve policymaking.
2. This study has suggested that problems occur when policymaking is undertaken over a short time span. Political or other considerations may, under such conditions, loom heavier than educational

considerations. A further examination of this policy, and others developed over short time periods, may help educational administrators to improve policymaking under similar conditions.

3. Because society is making increasing demands for technical development, educational administrators in Portugal need to encourage the adoption of forms of post-secondary education that are likely to fulfill these demands.

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APPENDIX A

List of Persons Interviewed

Name of Interviewees, date and place of interview and the position or profession at the date of the interview are listed as follows:

Aguiar, Henrique. 7 Nov. 1983. Azores. Medical Doctor.

Amaral Borges, J. 16 Jan. 1984. Azores. High School Teacher.

Almeida, José. 11 Nov. 1983. Azores. High School Teacher.

Brotas, António. 10 April 1984. Lisbon. Professor (Lisbon Technical University).

Camacho, Augusto. 14 Feb. 1984. Azores. Lawyer.

Carmo, Francisco. 9 Feb. 1984. Professor (University of the Azores).

Carneiro, Emiliano. 23 Nov. 1983. Azores. President of the Chamber of Commerce of Ponta Delgada.

Carneiro, Roberto. 13 April 1984. Lisbon. Vice President of the National Institute of Administration.

Carreiro, Holbeche. 17 April 1984. Azores. Businessman.

Cymbron, Augusto. 16 April 1984. Azores. Civil Engineer.

Enes, José. 8 Sept. 1983 and 17 March 1984. Azores. Professor (University of the Azores).

Estrêla Rego, J. 4 Nov. 1984 and 14 Feb 1984. Azores. Medical Doctor.

Ferreira, Manuel. 14 Feb. 1984. Azores. Journalist.

Ferreira, Ricardo. 12 March 1984. Azores. Director of Student Services (University of the Azores).

Forjaz, Victor Hugo. 18 Nov. 1983. Azores. Associate Professor (University of the Azores).

Granada Escudeiro, A. 13 Jan. 1984. Azores. Bishop of Angra and of the Azores.

Gamboa, Jorge. 30 Nov. 1983. Azores. Medical Doctor.

Magalhães, Altino. 10 April 1984. Lisbon. Director of the

Institute of National Defense.

Marçal Grilo, E. 12 April 1984. Lisbon. Coordinator of the projects of the Ministry of Education with the World Bank.

Melo Bento, C. 7 Jan. 1984. Azores. Lawyer.

Monjardino, Álvaro. 2 May 1984. President of the Regional Assembly of the Azores.

Moura, Eduardo. 6 Nov. 1983. Azores. Director of the Geothermy Project.

Moura, Gustavo. 6 Nov. 1983. Azores. Journalist.

Oliveira, Frederico. 8 March 1984. Azores. Administrator of the University of the Azores.

Pavão, J. A.. 26 March 1984. Azores. Professor (University of the Azores).

Ponte Tavares, J. 8 March 1984. Azores. Professor (University of the Azores.

Pontes, Hermínio. 9 Nov. 1983. Azores. Teacher (Seminary of Ponta Delgada).

Sousa Pedro, T. 20 Nov. 1983. Azores. Medical Doctor.

Réfega, António. 27 April 1983. Lisbon. Professor(New University of Lisbon).

Rocha Trindade, A. 13 April 1984. Lisbon. President of the Portuguese Outreach Education Institute.

Vaz do Rego, L. 8 Dec. 1983. Azores. Agronomist.

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

The following open-ended questions were used to guide the interviews.

1. What social, economic, political, legal, ecological, demographic conditions/forces might have influenced higher education in the archipelago of the Azores prior to 1974?
    a. Were there any circumstances and events in the decades prior to 1974 which may indicate any movement which contributed to the creation of the university?
    b. What were the events (social, cultural, economic, etc.), since 1974, which precipitated the creation of the university in 1976?
    c. What were some of the underlying reasons for its creation?
    d. Do you see this move as an educational decision or as a political decision or both?
    e. What has been the national attitude toward the creation of new universities in Portugal and its territories?
    f. Is there evidence to indicate that these attitudes changed between 1974-1976?
    g. To what extent can the decision to create the university be linked to those changes?
    h. How significant was the contribution of the military towards the creation of the university?

2. How did different individuals and interest groups articulate their demands from 1974 to the policy decision?
    a. Who was mainly responsible for the initiation of the idea of the creation of the university?
    b. Who were the individuals and interest groups who initiated the move to create the university?
    c. Were there any central figures behind the move?
    d. How were the demands and supports articulated?
    e. How were the interests aggregated? Was there a political reason for aggregation? Was there any other reason?

3. How did the central and regional governments influence the

process?

   a. How did the various governments respond to the demands and supports of the groups? What was the response of the central government? What was the response of the regional government? What made the governments support the move?

4. How was the policy determined?
   a. Which governments influenced the policymaking process?
   b. What government structures were prominent?
   c. What decisions steps were undertaken?

5. What were the policy outcomes from 1976 to the present?
   a. What were the policy outcomes from the time of the implementation of the policy to date?
   b. To what extent has the university kept with the goals of its mandate either enabling or disabling in regards to: teaching, research, cultural extension and community services?

APPENDIX C

A summary of the University Activities

The following appendix provides a list of the university activities from 1976 to 1984. It is divided into four parts: research, extension services, community services and cultural activities, and publications.

Research

The reported research has been done or is in progress in the following departments of the University of the Azores.

Biology

Effects of chemicals in some species. Protection of the natural environment. Dynamics of some viruses. Living characteristics of some species. Studies related to genetic toxicology.

Agrarian Sciences

Carthography in many islands. Meteorological factors and its influence in milk production. Studies of the nutrition value of the pastures. Studies of water.

Business Administration

Studies for the Autonomous Region of the Azores, in budgeting, expenses and models of regional analysis. Emigration (demographic aspects). Historical studies. Implications for entry in the EEC. Strategies for economic development. Studies on salary differentiation. Analysis of manpower changes.

Soil Studies

Studies in vulcanology and seismology. Mineral studies. Vulcanological maps. Economic geology. Geographic monographies. Erosion studies. Solar energy.

History

Studies in communication. Research on manuscript sources related to the Azores, existent in the region and other countries. Historical studies of some towns in the Azores. Geography of electorates of the past. Effects of the Spanish administration. Christianity in the Azores.

Social Studies

Innovation and social change. Social dynamics. Ethnography studies. Arts and crafts promotion.

Philosophy

Genetic epistomology of Jean Piaget.

Teacher Education

The effects of mastery learning. Teacher motivation and attitudes towards innovation and change in education. The creation of the University of the Azores. Studies on vocational maturity.

Languages and Modern Literature

The idea of decadence in the generation of the 1870s. Azorean folklore, poetry. Women in French poetry in the 12th century. Literary criticism studies. Studies on foreign authors (Herman Melville, Marguerite

Yourcenar). Literary activities with incidence in the nation of the 19th century and contemporary Azorean profiles.

Mathematics

Student populations. Prospective studies in student population. Fisheries stocks. Analysis of actual fisheries activities and development of future models.

Oceanography and Fisheries

Studies on fish biology, maritime biology, and maritime chemistry. Applied research on the economic value of the region (some of the studies are integrated with international programs).

Extension Services

The main extension activities have been directed to teacher education, administrative personnel in public and private services. A program designed to upgrade library technicians was offered with the help of Portuguese universities.

Community Services and Cultural Activities

Most of the research done has been oriented to the community. Cultural activities had been offered in many forms: conferences, art exhibitions, cultural weeks, seminars, symposia, workshops, and theatrical performances by students, with an estimated total audience of 1500 people. Of particular importance was a week of judicial studies concentrated on aspects of regionalization and decentralization of government.

Publications

Publications are promoted by the information and cultural extension services connected to the rector's office. The Journal Archipelago with a section on humanities and another on natural sciences has been published since 1978. Other works have been published in the form of theses, books and in other scientific journals. Most books published are mainly related to Azorean culture -- literature, history and poetry, etc. The Secretary of Culture and Education had supported financially many of the publications.